

# IN THESE TIMES

LETTER  
FROM  
BRITAIN



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Vol. 1, No. 43

Sept. 21-27, 1977

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Photo by John Earle

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# THE INSIDE STORY



Maurine Hedgepeth and her husband were fired by J.P. Stevens after 25 years on the job.

## Southern workers need new labor law

Congress is presently discussing the reform of the National Labor Relations Act. The Thompson-Williams Labor Law Reform Bill would make it easier for unions to win representation elections. At an August 9 House Education and Labor Committee hearing held in Roanoke Rapids, North Carolina, Bob Hall, the editor of *Southern Exposure*, gave the following testimony about the bill's importance to southern workers:

Fifty years ago last week, on August 4th, 1927, a group of North Carolina workers tried to assert their civil rights in the workplace. They worked at the Harriett cotton mill in the small town of Henderson, which is only 50 miles from where we sit today. More recently Henderson, North Carolina, has become one of the renowned battle grounds for the union movement, as Roanoke Rapids is today; but in 1927 hardly anyone paid much attention to the workers in the Henderson mills, not even the unions.

The Cooper family ran the mills, owned the mill houses, and pretty much ran the town to suit their own purposes. But in the late summer of 1927, they went a little too far. They decided they would lock their workers inside the mill each morning, and not let them out until the end of the day. Nobody could leave until the Coopers were ready to let them leave. For mill workers who were used to walking home for lunch or during a break, the new policy seemed incredibly selfish and

callous. They circulated a petition asking the Coopers to return to the old ways, but their petition was flatly rejected.

So on August 4, 1927, 850 millworkers walked off their jobs. They went on strike. It was the only thing they felt they could do. They didn't have a national union to support them. Or any high-powered lawyers. Or any strike benefits. They began holding their own meetings. They sang hymns together, and prayed together, and heard the sermons of their main leader, a minister in the Pentacostal Holiness Church.

Four weeks into the strike, the Coopers had not budged an inch. Instead they began evicting the strikers from the company-owned housing. The Coopers' agents would literally empty the house of a family's possessions, piling mattresses and chairs and clothes out in the street. Now people were not only out of work; they were also without homes for themselves and their children.

And that was too much for the Harriett workers to bear. They abandoned their demands and asked the mill owner to let them return to work and return to their homes. With the strike completely crushed, the Coopers consented. And the workers in the Harriett mill gave up one more freedom they once held dear.

I tell that story not simply because of its historic significance, coming as it did 50 years and 50 miles away from this hearing today on workers' rights; and not simply to remind you, in case you have not toured this area, that the barbed-wire-topped fences surrounding most textile mills are not symbolic—they are real instruments in the on-going battles by textile owners to humiliate and terrorize their workers into complete obedience. I tell this story to emphasize something about the South and about the people who work here.

To claim that Southern workers do not want the protection of a union is a malicious lie. It is as preposterous as saying that black people in the South were content with their lives and did not want the NAACP or other civil rights organizations to help them stop lynchings in the 1920s and '30s, or get the right to vote in the 1950s and '60s.

The fact of the matter is that before there was an NAACP or a Textile Workers Union, there were Southerners, black and white, fighting as hard as they possibly could for their rights and the protection of their freedoms. That is the reason I tell the story of the Harriett cotton mill workers, people who without the help of anyone, anywhere, against odds that made their victory hopeless, still raised their voices in unison to declare their right to have some say over what happened to them once they entered the mill.

The fact that they lost, and the fact that the NAACP and black folks seeking their civil rights did not win until they gained new protections written into federal law, is the reason why I am here today.

I am not a great admirer of the power of the federal government. But I am impressed with two facts that have been driven home to us at *Southern Exposure* in hundreds of interviews and case studies, and in the preparation of the two books we have published on labor organizing:

The first fact is this: As long as living memory can carry us back, there have been people like those at the Harriett mill who have held to their desires for self-reliance, independence and self-respect. That desire is still burning today in places like Roanoke Rapids, and its resiliency is a remarkable testimony to the human spirit.

Second: The self-initiated efforts of these people to organize and get some measure of dignity and justice in a political economy increasingly dominated by huge corporations and bureaucracies has become all the harder without massive outside help. If it was once

difficult for a group of workers to get recognition from the local mill owner, it is now virtually impossible for them to survive the ingenious and devastating weapons at the disposal of a multi-million dollar corporation.

The bottom line is this: the people who express the age-old desire for representation are in greater need than ever before of legal protections that only the federal government can provide.

It is thus a monumental travesty that the country's labor law does not work.

It does not protect the workers' right to free elections, or the freedom of assembly, or the right of free speech when the subject under discussion is unionization. You have ample documentation of how companies have systematically destroyed the atmosphere in which Southern workers could freely choose whether or not they want a union. In the last 15 years, J.P. Stevens has been found guilty of firing or harassing some 300 workers to keep them from expressing their views. And even after an election is won, as in Roanoke Rapids, the company continues to harass and intimidate pro-union workers.

We have barely advanced beyond the time of the Harriett workers when there was no National Labor Relations Act at all. J.P. Stevens still tells their workers to obey its edicts or go on strike, the same blackmail used by the Coopers 50 years ago. There is still no recognition that workers have grievances which are worthy of arbitration.

The failure of the federal government to enforce the labor law makes a mockery of its commitment to protect, as the National Labor Relations Act states, "the exercise of workers of their full freedom of association." The flagrant and frequent abuse of the law should be a personal insult to every member of this Committee, and to every member of Congress. You cannot escape the reality that the law is often used not to protect people's rights, but to help companies sidetrack the legitimate desires of their workers and to render impotent the unions that the majority of them may wish to join.

In fact, the current procedure for enforcing the NLRA has warped the whole fabric of labor-management relations: It makes it necessary for any group of employees who want a labor organization to also have a huge bank account and a horde of lawyers to defend them through years of litigation. It promotes big unionism because too often it reduces an organizing campaign to a contest between the union's high-class attorneys and the company's high-class attorneys—while the workers themselves are lost in the courtroom shuffle.

Thus reforms that hasten and strengthen the protection of the workers' rights will not only help them individually, but will also help unions devote more of their resources for more constructive programs in leadership training and education. It could also save corporations those sizable attorneys' fees that are passed on to us as consumers.

It should not take my testimony, nor the lobbying of the unions, nor the words of the workers here, nor the encouragement of the President to move Congress to stand behind the freedoms it supposedly guaranteed working people 42 years ago in the Wagner Act. The same kind of discrepancy between paper promises and real protection plagued black Americans for decades.

In the name of black and white Southerners who have fought so long to establish civil rights in the community and civil rights in the workplace, this kind of hypocrisy must be ended once and for all. Justice delayed is justice denied.

Guest column by Bob Hall

## IN THESE TIMES

THE INDEPENDENT SOCIALIST NEWSPAPER

Published 50 times a year: weekly except the last week of July and the fourth week of December by New Majority Publishing Co., Inc. 1509 North Milwaukee Avenue, Chicago, Illinois 60622, (312) 489-4444, TWX: 910-221-5401, Cable: THESE TIMES, Chicago, Ill

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This edition published Sept. 21, 1977 for newsstand sales Sept. 21-27.



# Cracks in Teamster empire

By Dan Marschall

Ever since the McClellan Committee hearings of the late 1950s and the later jailing of Jimmy Hoffa for jury tampering, pressure for change in the 2.2 million-member International Brotherhood of Teamsters has come primarily from forces external to the union, especially from governmental agencies, the mass media and the AFL-CIO. The typical truck-driver-on-the-street didn't particularly mind that union representatives were ripping off millions, so said the conventional wisdom, as long as he got his cut in the form of hefty wage hikes.

In recent years, however, a variety of factors have generated growing dissatisfaction among Teamster members and notably reduced the ability of the union bureaucracy to gobble up and digest potential opponents. Now rank and file Teamsters, who have battled internally for years to democratize the union's totalitarian power structure, may be on the threshold of making significant inroads into its administrative guts.

Dissident candidates for local union elections this December have been nominated in a half-dozen cities and are given serious chances of victory in some.

## Campaign in Detroit.

In Detroit, the home turf of Hoffa and current Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons, Pete Camarata, a national leader of the Teamsters for a Democratic Union, is running for vice president of Local 299, one of the biggest and most influential in the union. He recently galvanized rank and file support in a successful effort to defeat a move by the international to expel him. (ITT, April 13)

His campaign coincides with the second national convention of the TDU to be held in Cleveland September 24-25. The organization, which has mushroomed to 2,000 dues-paying members in the last year, will discuss, among other topics, a national campaign to win the right to vote directly for top union officers, now chosen at union conventions every five years.

Bob Janadia, another Detroit TDU member who has been a Teamster for 25 years, will run for president of 14,000-member Local 337 against Robert Holmes, one of the union's pension fund trustees who was forced to resign earlier this year. He and other members of a reform slate have a solid chance to win, observers say, since they garnered about 43 percent of the vote when they challenged Holmes three years ago.

In St. Louis Mark Albrecht, an articulate young reformer who supplements his truck driving by teaching at a university labor studies center, is running for president of Local 600, the largest in the city. He also has a good shot at victory, local observers contend, since he appears popular with local members and the incumbent has failed to win the unreserved support of the international.

In Omaha an active member of the Professional Drivers Council (PROD), another reform group, declared his candidacy last June for president of Local 554. Though not running specifically as a PROD candidate, Tom McGrath, a long-haul driver and former Teamster organizer, is campaigning against union corruption, sweetheart contracts and other complaints popularized by both PROD and TDU.

The list goes on, and stretches from coast to coast. Reformers will run for assorted offices in New Jersey; Cincinnati, Ohio; Cape Girardeau, Missouri; Baltimore, Maryland; Oakland, California; Hagerstown, Maryland; and several other cities.

## New phase in fight.

While the politics and campaign approaches of these candidates vary widely—few are committed to the comprehensive reform program of TDU—the fact that they can mount serious election campaigns in this highly-centralized



Teamster insurgent Pete Camarata (left) is challenging Teamster president Frank Fitzsimmons' (right) authority in Detroit.

The fact that Teamster insurgents can mount serious election campaigns in this centralized union signifies a new phase in the fight for a democratic union.

union signifies a new phase in the fight to "return the union to the members."

"A lot of people are no longer taking the view that 'I don't care how much they steal as long as I get mine' because they see that they're not going to get theirs," comments Steve Earley, PROD staff attorney. "The pension fund corruption has gotten so bad and the lack of internal democracy so great that they're undeniably being screwed. It seems that more people are willing to be active and open in their opposition to the union bureaucracy at all levels."

The Teamster reform movement, which has so far entailed efforts to reform local by-laws and defend individual workers' rights, now has the legitimacy and influence to combine these activities with contests to crack the union's entrenched, 20,000-strong bureaucracy.

Insurgents point out that the movement in the Teamsters, while still facing tremendous odds, is actually more developed than reform efforts in other unions. The top-heavy structure of the union, along with the absence of a Jock Yablonski or an Ed Sadlowski figure (charismatic reform leaders in the United Mine Workers and the Steelworkers) has impelled activists to adopt a long-term, grass-roots approach to transforming the union.

Unlike either the Miners For Democracy or Steelworkers Fight Back, which were primarily vehicles for national election campaigns, neither PROD nor TDU are mainly dependent on outside fi-

nancing. Their budgets are provided by membership contributions.

## Victories already.

Part of the inspiration for the dissident campaigns comes from two key local election triumphs in the U.S. and Canada. In June an insurgent slate of Teamsters, running under a reform banner toppled the leadership of Washington, D.C. Local 639, with 7,000 members the largest in the area.

Headed by a 41-year-old black man, Daniel George, the slate included a prominent PROD member, John Catlett, in the secretary-treasurer slot.

Catlett had earlier filed charges, with two other Teamsters, to have Fitzsimmons removed as international president. (ITT, May 24 and July 6)

In January a TDU activist, Jack Vlahovic, won the presidency of Local 213, the largest in Canada and the home of union vice-president Ed Lawson, that country's most powerful Teamster officer.

Located in British Columbia, this construction local is particularly important because it encompasses the workers who will build the newly-approved natural gas pipeline from Alaska.

Lawson and his associates have filed charges against Vlahovic to invalidate the election.

"The rebel forces there, who represent the members, have won everything that Lawson has tried to hit them with. He's tried to divide the local and bring

charges against them and censor their newspaper. But he's only losing more support—just like Fitzsimmons lost support in Detroit when he tried to throw out Camarata," says Ken Paff, TDU national secretary.

## Hoffa disappearance helped.

Ironically, the 1975 disappearance of Jimmy Hoffa, at a time when he was trying to rebuild his base of support within the union after being released from prison by President Nixon, also fueled reform efforts by shifting the burden of activism squarely onto the backs of rank and filers.

Various pockets of resistance existed before the kidnapping, one commentator pointed out, "but much disillusionment was channeled into fantasies about Hoffa" regaining power. While removing an immediate threat to Fitzsimmons, the assassins also eliminated the one person who could have successfully "managed" the union's rising discontent.

"The Hoffa case gave publicity to the corruption in the union," adds Bob Janadia. "Hoffa put the noose around our necks and Fitzsimmons has tightened it."

The inquiry into Hoffa's disappearance has now collapsed, after the Federal Bureau of Investigation spent \$1 million following leads. Observers speculate that he was killed by organized crime figures when he threatened to reveal their ties with the union.

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## ORGANIZATIONS

# Unity and diversity in Women's Caucus

By Claire Greensfelder

SAN JOSE, CAL.—Opposition to right wing attacks upon abortion and the ERA was the rallying point for moderate and left of center feminists at the Third Biennial convention of the National Women's Political Caucus here Sept. 9-11.

Entitled "Women, Power and Politics," the convention drew over 1500 delegates, alternates and observers for three days of workshops, speeches, resolutions and the election of new officers for the six year old organization.

The delegates, representing 35,000 mostly middle class Democratic and Republican women, were unanimous in their support for the ERA and Medicaid paid abortions.

There was also much discussion of the International Women's Year conference to be held in Houston in November, including strategy sessions on how to prevent expected right-wing political sabotage by the John Birch Society, American Nazi Party, Mormon church and other conservative forces.

The Caucus has an unusual diversity in its ranks; there is no comparable organization in the male political establishment. This diversity was reflected in the speakers: from Mary Louise Smith, ex-chair of the Republican National Committee to Willa Mae Reed (not a Caucus member), 1976 candidate for Vice President on the Socialist Worker's Party ticket; from Jill Ruckelshaus, a Republican activist, to Liz Carpenter, one-time press secretary for Lady Bird Johnson and currently co-chair of ERA-America.

The Caucus is about 60 percent Democratic, 25 percent Republican and 15 percent Independent. It has active black, Chicana and lesbian caucuses. A new labor caucus was formed at the convention, as well as an older women's caucus and a legal support group composed of members who are attorneys and judges.

## Political aim of movement.

Unlike the convention of the National Organization for Women earlier this year, other political parties such as the SWP were not actively present. Willa Mae Reed told *In These Times*: "We [the SWP] do not see the NWPC as a next step in the development of the women's movement. The most attractive organization for activist women is NOW."

NOW, which is a larger organization with 55,000 members, "addresses issues and does consciousness raising," Iris Mitgang vice-chair-elect said. "NWPC is a political organization. We're considered the political arm of the women's movement. We see our task as affecting the system by electing women to public office because the men aren't doing it for us." Although many of the members of the Caucus are also members of NOW (including Mitgang), no attempt has been made to coordinate the two memberships.

The topics presented in workshop sessions underlined the determination of the caucus to place more women into elected and appointed political offices. Election targeting, direct voter contact, basic and advanced campaign strategy, fundraising at the grassroots level were just a few of the 36 workshops offered. Discussion was steered away from generalities as the moderators of the sessions focused on the specifics of election techniques.

Differences in party loyalties were kept distinctly low-key, as the group applauded speech after speech attacking Carter's stand on abortion and urging the passage of the ERA. Frances "Sissy" Farenthold, president of Wells College, brought the delegates to their feet for a three minute standing ovation

National Women's Political Caucus members see themselves as the "political arm of the women's movement," and set as their task the election of women to office. They include Democrats, Republicans and Independents.

*Gloria Steinem told the gathering that "The system is so radically wrong that when we demand simple justice like the ERA, it makes us come off as radicals."*

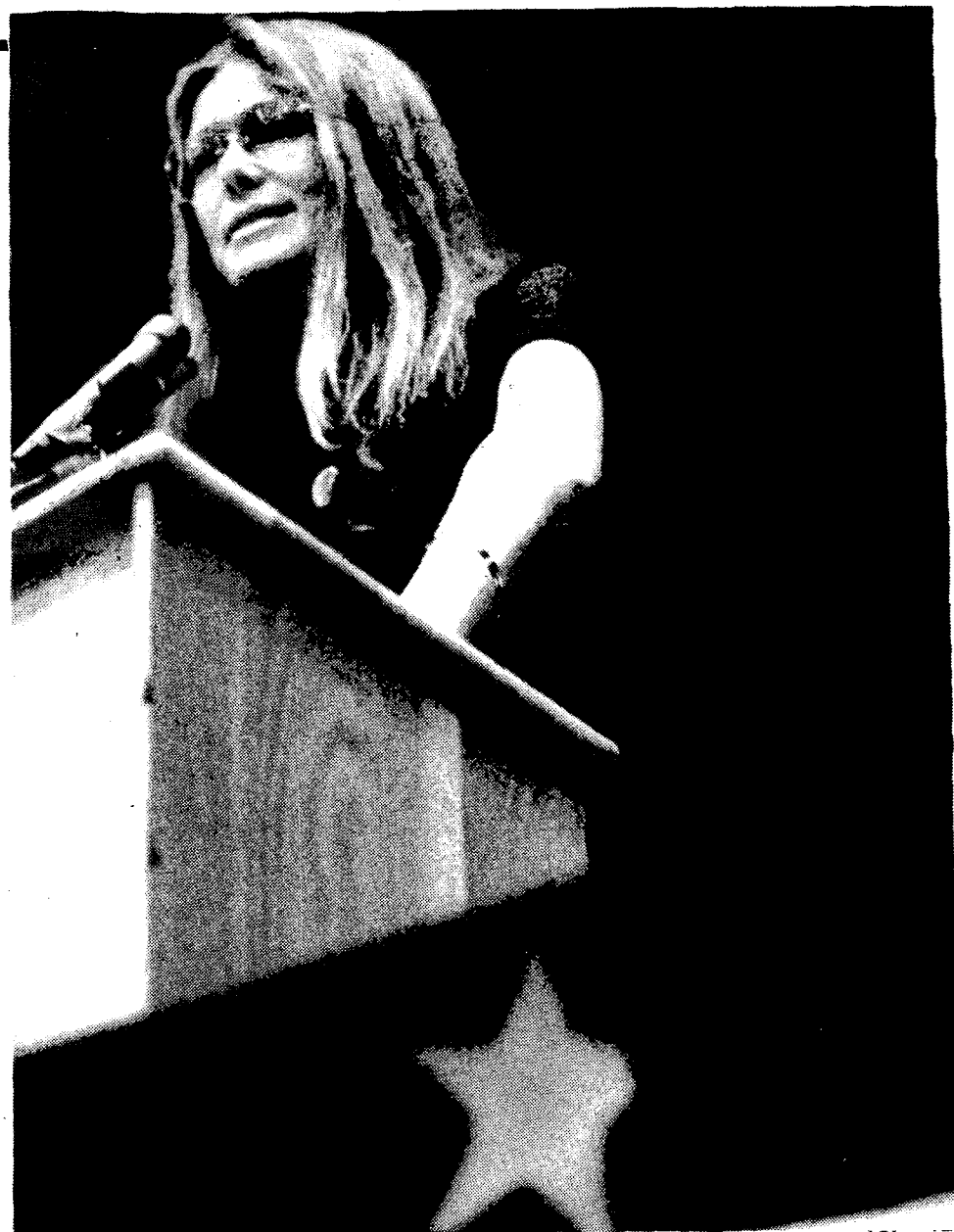
when she declared, "The right to an abortion has become a class issue, a race issue, a privacy issue and even a consumer issue, but above all it is *our* issue."

In an action resolution (one that had a financial impact on the organization) around the ERA, the caucus voted to "commit the maximum available resources of the NWPC to that effort."

## Controversy over racism.

While resolutions on abortion, the ERA, displaced homemakers, comprehensive childcare, civil rights and campaign finance reform generally passed easily, emphasizing the mood of unity and agreement that ran throughout the proceedings, the convention was not without discord.

Racism and minority participation in



Claire Greensfelder

the Caucus were the issues that sparked the most controversy.

C. DeLores Tucker, black Secretary of State of Pennsylvania, said in her address to the group: "Black women have their own priorities, and most of them still consider racism a greater barrier than sexism. They see white women as interested in only white women's issues and particularly in white middle class women's issues."

There were also heated debates around by-laws revisions proposed by California's Alameda County caucus. The delegation presented a change that would eliminate the requirement that three of the five national vice-chairs be members of minority groups. Other delegates responded angrily to this move as they felt that the Caucus had not been doing enough to recruit minority mem-

bers, and that this would only hinder any progress that was being made. The proposal was blocked by the San Francisco delegation before it had a chance to come to a vote.

The convention was not all plenary sessions and debate. On Friday night there was a concert with feminist musicians Holly Near, Meg Christian, Mary Watkins and Malvina Reynolds. For many of the women present, this was their first contact with a woman-produced feminist concert.

Yet the general theme was network building and the social time was no exception. Women took advantage of receptions, lunch and dinner breaks, and free time to meet delegates from other states and establish contacts for future work.

*Continued on page 18*

## EDUCATION

# Milwaukee aroused over busing

Plagued by calls for "neighborhood schools" from both white opponents of any desegregation and blacks upset that very few white students have been bused to schools out of their neighborhoods, the Milwaukee, Wisc., school year got off to a troubled start.

Last year, the first in a three-year, court-supervised effort to end segregation of the 103,000-student system, desegregation efforts were relatively successful and peaceful. Employing a variety of voluntary methods, the school system managed to meet Federal Judge John Reynolds' guidelines for the year.

"This community has gone through an enormous transition without a ripple," Special Master John Grounouski, the court-appointed overseer of the desegregation plan, said last summer. "I think the desegregation plan will go down in history as the model of human relations for the nation, not just human relations, but desegregation and quality education as well."

However, despite reassurances from the school board to the black community that blacks would not bear the brunt of busing in the second year—as they had in the first—figures released in August showed that 87.6 percent of the 14,500 students to be bused would be blacks. The number of black students to be "voluntarily" bused had been artificially increased by a school board de-

cision to close neighborhood schools. Students from those schools got to choose their new schools, hence the "voluntary" aspect of the choice.

"Blacks for Two-Way Integration" was formed in protest. Their survey showed strong sentiment among black parents for sending children to neighborhood schools. White opponents of busing, led by the Concerned Citizens for Freedom and Justice, strongly backed the new resistance to busing among some blacks.

The situation was further confused by court and school board decisions just before school opened on September 6. The Milwaukee school desegregation order had been appealed to the Supreme Court, which referred the decision back to the Circuit Court of Appeals to judge whether the city had acted intentionally in its original segregation. Two days before school opened, the case was returned to Judge Reynolds in Milwaukee by the Appellate Court, encouraging anti-busing parents to hope there would be a reversal of the desegregation order.

Then, the evening of the first day back to school, the school board—with an anti-busing white majority—voted in favor of a resolution that would allow students to transfer back to neighborhood schools if there was sufficient space. Administrators were left in a muddle. In protest, confusion or whatever else,

many students stayed out of school in the first week.

On September 8 the Appeals Court amended its earlier order to state that Judge Reynolds' desegregation plan was still in effect, overriding the school board position on neighborhood schools.

The future of the desegregation plan now is in doubt. Nearly everyone agrees that voluntary means alone will not be sufficient to meet the original goal of 102 desegregated schools—73 schools have now met the court guidelines. On the other hand, if Judge Reynolds does not satisfy the Appeals Court that his desegregation order meets Supreme Court criteria, the desegregation process will probably be stalled where it is.

Blacks and whites who have worked hard for desegregation and busing are distressed that the once promising plan is now threatened, even if they also empathize with the black criticism of largely one-way busing.

And, in another grace note to the complicated desegregation fugue, Native Americans have complained that they are being bused as "non-whites" in order to meet desegregation guidelines, and that busing disperses Indians who have recently managed to win special programs in schools where they have been concentrated.

*This article was based on information supplied by Ian Harris.*



## NEWS ANALYSIS

# Weakness with minorities & labor doomed Bella

By Paul A. DuBrul

**Q. How can you build a successful left electoral coalition without labor, blacks or other minorities?**

**A. You can't.**

In every poll taken throughout the tangled seven candidate Democratic mayoral primary in New York, Bella Abzug placed either first or second—enough to put her in the sudden death 11-day runoff to decide the final winner. Yet when the votes were counted September 8th, she finished in a disappointing fourth place. What happened to Bella—New York's leading left political figure, and a major national voice for peace, feminism and progressive social change?

The answer is depressingly simple. She failed to get the financial support or endorsements of organized labor. Her significant past support from blacks and Puerto Ricans was siphoned off by two leading minority politicians. The city's "Permanent Government"—bankers, landlords and real estate developers, publishers and Democratic party bosses—took an "anyone but Bella" position on her campaign. Women failed to rally to her feminist candidacy.

In the end, Bella was left with white, middle class, mostly Manhattan, liberals—still a sizable bloc of the 40 percent of Democratic voters who turned out for the primary, but not enough to do the trick.

The anti-Bella gangup started early. Sensing that the former Congresswoman was an easy winner in a showdown with incumbent Abraham Beame in the scheduled June primary, Governor Hugh Carey simply rescheduled the primary to September, hoping that "someone" would show up to beat Bella and Beame.

## Gov. Carey's favorites.

Carey's favorite "someone" was his law school classmate Mario Cuomo who had failed in a 1974 bid for Lieutenant Governor and had been consoled with appointment as New York's Secretary of State, sort of a glorified notary public.

Cuomo had taken himself out of the running "definitively" because of his wife's opposition to having their family disrupted. Mrs. Cuomo subsequently relented after personal importuning by the Governor and a pledge that he would help Cuomo raise a campaign war chest. (Carey kept his pledge and helped his Secretary of State raise almost \$1.5 million.)

Edward Koch, Congressman from Manhattan's silk-stocking district, was Carey's second choice, and had already hired Carey's successful 1974 media advisor Dave Garth. But Koch, whose striking physical resemblance to TV's chicken king Frank Perdue rarely goes unmentioned, was generally viewed as unknown and "too liberal" for white ethnic voters in Brooklyn and Queens. He had run briefly in the 1973 Mayoral primary, reminding voters that he had opposed a controversial public housing project in middle class Forest Hills and that he would be "tough on crime." But nobody seemed to be listening at that time, and he soon dropped out for lack of funds.

As Jimmy Carter has shown, being unknown by the voters may be a candidate's greatest advantage in the age of

saturation TV advertising. Given proper direction, he can become anything the voters think they want. Cuomo and Koch now raced for the tube.

## Neighborhoodism and polls.

Cuomo hired Jerry Rafshoon, the sculptor of Carter's image. While the relationship has not been smooth, Cuomo's commercials made much of his respect for the immigrant generations who built the city and portrayed him as an angry, earthy advocate of "neighborhoods." ("Neighborhood" has become the latest code word in the perennial American search to raise the issue of race in campaigns without directly saying so. Italians, Irish and white conservatives of any ethnic group are all deemed to live in neighborhoods; blacks, Puerto Ricans and white liberals are assumed to have little commitment to wherever they raise their families.)

Dave Garth repeated the formula that has helped him elect lacklustre candidates in most of the nation's largest states. He had Koch regurgitate the results of the latest public opinion polls on the air, then claim that he was the only candidate to take "tough, unpopular" positions.

Koch inveighed against the municipal unions as the cause of the city's fiscal crisis. As Jack Newfield and I have written extensively elsewhere, and as the SEC has recently confirmed, it was actually the large commercial banks that destroyed the city's economy. Never mind, the voters told the pollsters that "greedy" unions had driven the city to the verge of bankruptcy, and Ed Koch told them they were right.

Koch also solved his problem with appearing not to be "tough" enough. He would grab voters on the streets and introduce himself by saying "Hi, I'm for capital punishment. Are you?" As the polls had shown all along, 80 percent were indeed for capital punishment.

Koch ran a split-level campaign, carefully documented by the *Village Voice*, using the capital punishment pitch in his literature and speeches in the outer boroughs but dropping it entirely in supposedly liberal Manhattan.

## Bella troubles.

While all of this was taking place, Bella Abzug, the front-runner, was having some unexpected problems. Union leaders who had enthusiastically supported her Senate bid a year earlier (she lost by one percentage point to Daniel Patrick Moynihan in a five candidate race) suddenly weren't answering her phone calls.

A large bloc of unions, led by the Machinists and Communications Workers, suddenly endorsed Cuomo. They had been "talked to" by the Governor. Most of the municipal unions endorsed Abe Beame, the man who had laid off tens of thousands of their members and frozen wages for three years. District Council 37, the largest and most progressive municipal union, declared its neutrality in the race. So did the anti-war Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Only Local 1199 of the Hospital Workers endorsed a woman who had been a labor lawyer and had walked on picket lines for 25 years.

Without large contributions from the unions, Bella was forced to "nickel and dime" it with fundraisers and cocktail parties. But even traditional liberal givers suddenly hid their check books. After all, it was one thing to have Bella emoting in Congress, and quite another to have her making the daily decisions on things like rent control, business taxes and restoring sharply reduced city services.



**When it came down to the wire, the only solid support for Bella was with white, middle class, primarily Manhattan liberals.**

(After particularly hostile questioning at a luncheon for real estate executives, she reminded her audience that all seven Mayoral candidates had indicated their support for rent control. "Yeah," a voice from the audience interjected, "but we know you mean it.")

Both Koch and Cuomo also made much of a pre-primary comment by Bella that she believed police and firemen had "the right to strike." Her explanation that anti-strike legislation for public workers had not stopped strikes by cops, teachers, firemen or hospital workers and that only effective collective bargaining could maintain emergency services never caught up with the impression that Bella was "soft" on municipal workers.

## Loss of minority votes.

Nothing hurt the Abzug campaign as much as the loss of minority voters, however. In her Senate race, Bella had gotten 90 percent of the black votes cast. But Percy Sutton, the city's leading black official had announced his candidacy in January, hoping that his long service to Abe Beame and the Democratic machines would guarantee him the role of becoming the city's first black mayor.

Sutton was dismissed by the press, and boycotted by the city's large Establishment contributors. Mortally wounded, he persisted and appealed to black voters solely on the basis of racial solidarity. Blacks did vote in record numbers, providing Sutton with enough strength to come in fifth of the seven contenders.

Herman Badillo, the city's leading Puerto Rican official, who had been brutalized by the Beame forces in the runoff four years earlier, entered the race as a declared "spoiler." He announced that Bella had reneged on a commitment made when he had supported her for the Senate.

Together, Sutton and Badillo polled 230,000 votes. Bella failed to make the

runoff by 20,000. There is little disagreement that while the minority vote would have been smaller had the two not run, almost all of whatever minority votes were cast would have been in the Abzug column.

Koch and Cuomo combined polled only 39 percent of the vote. While Abe Beame ran a surprising third many of his votes came from municipal workers and their families who would have been unlikely to vote for the two candidates who made a point of their hostility to the wages and benefits paid to city workers. Bella again would have gotten the bulk of these votes.

## Failure of the left.

So New York's Democrats must now choose between two conservatives who were almost unknown three months ago. This whole fiasco must have an ominous *deja vu* quality for anyone who was involved in last year's Presidential campaign or in any number of state and local campaigns where a number of contending left candidates have happily slashed each other's throats while disciplined conservative campaigns went on to victory in Democratic primaries.

Part of the problem clearly lies in the fragmentation of our politics along racial and ethnic, instead of class, lines. But that is just another way of saying that the left has failed miserably in constructing a coherent, easily understood program which will win the allegiance of the majority of Americans who are the victims of the existing political system. Until that task is accomplished, our elections will continue to be manipulated by the fear-mongers and power brokers—and we will all suffer at their hands.

*Paul A. DuBrul is co-author with Jack Newfield of The Abuse of Power: The Permanent Government and the Fall of New York. He was issues director for the Abzug campaign.*

More on Bella Abzug's loss next week.



# Blue Collar Sun

By David Moberg  
Staff Writer

Can the sun light a new political path for the nation's labor unions?

Consider these minor examples. The Sheet Metal Workers union is trying to convince the Chicago Board of Education jointly to finance the conversion of one floor of the city's skilled trades teaching center to solar heat. Already the union has helped to build and finance solar heating of experimental homes and of other schools, on Long Island and in Detroit, where sheet metal workers learn their craft.

The United Auto Workers uses solar heat for the swimming pool at its Black Lake, Mich. educational center, partly as a way of demonstrating the feasibility of solar power.

The Los Angeles Federation of Labor, after listening to ecologist Barry Commoner address a special meeting, has been working with environmentalists to research and promote solar energy possibilities for their area, despite differences between the two groups over many other issues, including nuclear power.

Observers throughout the country sense a new, although still indecisive union interest in solar energy as an immediate option and not just a dream technology of the future.

## An important alliance.

If that interest quickens, the impact on the labor movement might extend far beyond immediate energy politics. Although environmentalists and labor unions might still be at odds over bottle bills, redwood logging, tuna fishing, nuclear power plants, offshore oil wells, leniency on auto emission standards and other issues, unity behind more vigorous development of solar power might help strengthen the potentially important political alliance of labor and the ecological movement—an alliance that might have deep appeal for young blue-collar workers as well as students and intellectuals.

Active pursuit of a solar course would mark a significant new independent initiative by labor unions. They've tended to play follow-the-corporate-leader on energy issues—except on immediate pricing policies that reduce working class standards of living. A major push toward solar energy would also require labor unions to buck present AFL-CIO policies and to take initiative in developing and promoting legislation that the Carter administration has not offered.

By backing solar energy, however, unions might become, in the words of West Coast director of the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers Charles Armin, more "politically responsible."

The support for solar energy reflects a growing interest in some quarters of the labor movement in the quality as well as the quantity of economic growth.

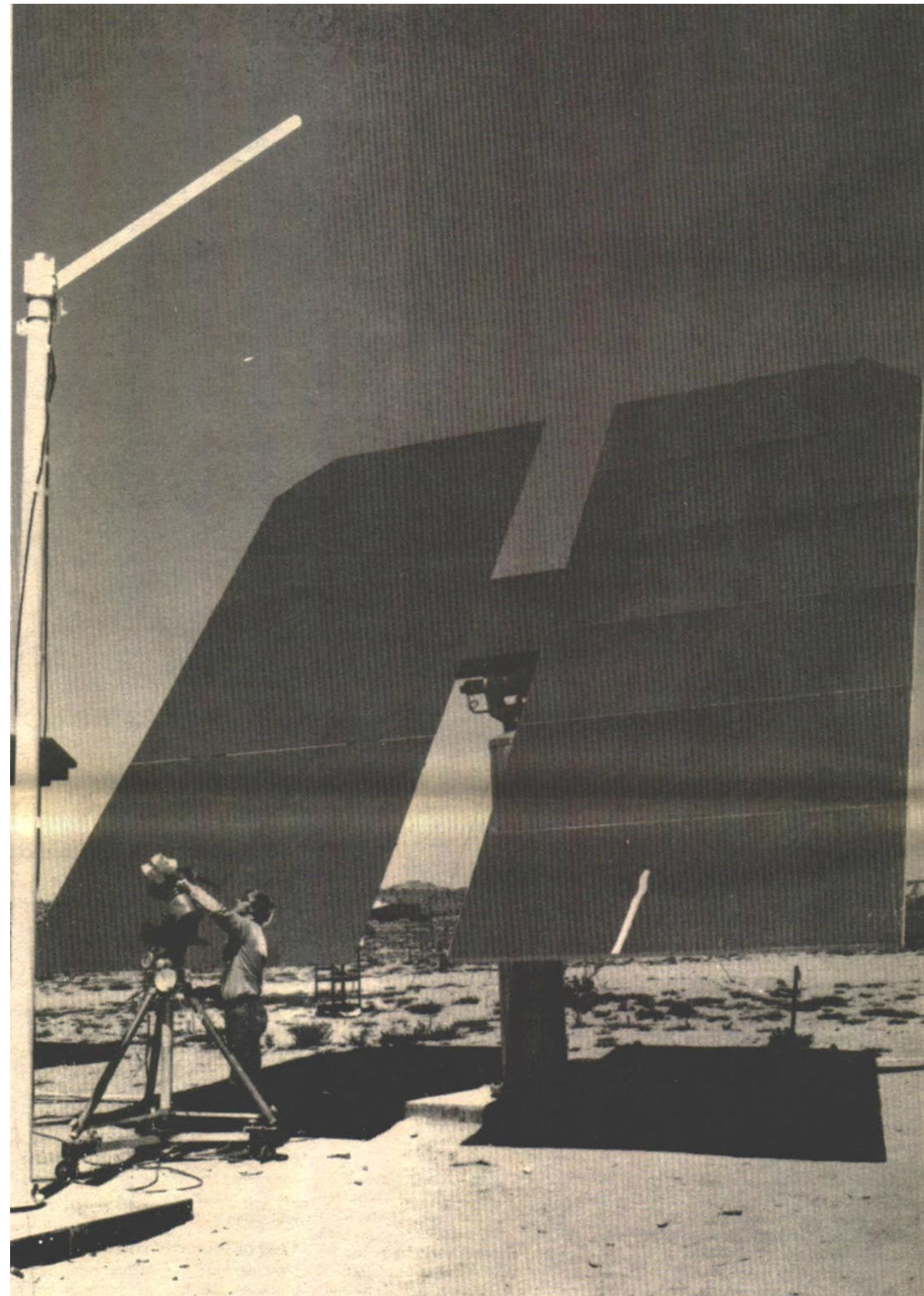
Pro-solar unionists often not only accept the argument that solar development will offer more jobs than coal and nuclear power but also believe that the jobs may be more desirable. Solar energy projects, for example, may benefit a wide range of workers and provide jobs in the immediate community rather than in remote mining or drilling locations.

UAW and Machinist representatives even talk about bringing more stable, socially beneficial jobs to their members by converting much of the aerospace industry from military production to solar manufacturing.

Such possibilities for a new political thrust, which might include an independent labor movement working in coalition with environmentalists to plan more consciously the country's economic future, are still remote, however.

## Support bubbling up.

At present one union stands out as the most active proponent of solar power,



*This giant mirror, or heliostat, is similar to the type chosen by ERDA for use in an experimental solar electric generating station in California. Critics, however, charge that such large scale technology is not the best way to develop solar power at this time, and that its choice reflects the interest of large corporations.*

McDonnell-Douglas

the Sheet Metal Workers International Association, a 160,000-member construction trades union.

Yet there is also strong support for solar power from various levels of the UAW, the Machinists (IAM), and the Laborers International union. (The Operating Engineers, Ironworkers, Carpenters and Teamsters have joined with the Laborers behind a common energy program.)

Elsewhere, support for solar energy comes bubbling up from officials at local and regional levels, and occasionally is expressed at the international level in such unions as the Plumbers and Pipefitters, the State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME), United Electrical Workers (UE), Service Employees (SEIU) the West Coast Longshoremen and the Oil, Chemical and Atomic Workers.

Official AFL-CIO policy, however, lumps solar with diverse "other sources" that "will be neither cheap nor be developed overnight," as a February 17 Executive Council memorandum stated.

## More and better jobs.

When most labor leaders take time to think about energy policies one of the main things on their minds is jobs. "Where exactly the energy comes from [for these jobs] is not a big issue with trade unions," Tom Donahue, executive assistant to AFL-CIO president George Meaney, told a conference of unionists and environmentalists at the UAW Black Lake retreat in May 1976.

Cracks are emerging in that hard-line attitude.

Perhaps most importantly, preliminary estimates suggest that solar energy

programs will generate far more work for a broader range of unions than nuclear power plants will.

The Congressional Office of Technology Assessment, for example, compared the labor requirements for building and operating a conventional coal-fired electrical generating plant with those for solar hot water heaters and for a photovoltaic system, directly producing electricity from sunlight. The figures in the comparison were expressed in man-hours per megawatt-year, the labor time needed to produce the equivalent of a million watts of electricity for one year.

The coal-fired plant would require 2,050 man-hours per megawatt-year but the solar hot water heaters would require 4,440 to 6,040 man-hours. The photovoltaic system would require between 6,240 and 10,040 man-hours for the same amount of energy.



# Preliminary estimates suggest that solar energy programs will generate far more work for more unions than other forms of energy use, especially nuclear power. This is a major factor behind the new interest in solar power.

That would mean the two solar technologies would produce twice to five times as many jobs as a coal-fired generating plant in generating the same amount of energy. Since capital and material costs for solar energy production are less than for coal or nuclear production, greater labor costs could be absorbed while still offering energy at competitive costs.

The Sheet Metal Workers and their Training Fund, jointly administered with the national contractors association, have already begun promotion of solar home heating as an immediate answer to high unemployment among their members.

"Under the Sun," a half-hour film, tells about the Fund's involvement in pilot solar projects and promotes solar home heating to workers and contractors. Besides encouraging and funding pilot projects, the union and Training Fund have expanded specialized training in solar technology for sheet metal workers.

## Cracks in nuclear front.

The appeal of solar power to labor leaders has grown not only as it appeared to offer more jobs than oil, coal and nuclear options but also as leaders became more aware of the economic and safety problems of nuclear power.

Workers in the nuclear industry "know there are problems in nuclear fission," OCAW district director Armin says. "We realize there's a danger of accidents and disposal of wastes. Also we are quite aware that the people we represent also live in those communities."

No international union has so far come out against nuclear power. However, the UAW opposed the breeder reactor and several unions have stopped saying or doing anything in favor of nuclear power, although officially abiding by the pro-nuclear AFL-CIO position. The non-AFL-CIO United Electrical Workers (UE) appears closest of any union to abandoning support of nuclear energy.

Even unions strongly supporting solar energy still back nuclear expansion, even if a bit cautiously. "We're very much for developing alternative sources," says Dean Ruth, editor of the Machinist union newspaper, which has prominently written about solar power. "But we're not against development of nuclear power. We think it's important to bridge the gap of the immediate present with that source which is known, and we don't see any substitute [for nuclear power] for the immediate, short-term future."

## An easier path.

Yet as the anti-nuclear movement grows and obstacles to new power plants multiply, unions may be weaned from their attachment to nuclear—especially if they realize there is a practical, desirable alternative.

"We can't burn any more fossil fuel [in the Los Angeles area] because of air quality problems," Scott Franklin, 46, a Firefighters union local officer who is vice-president of the Los Angeles County Federation of Labor and chairman of the Jobs and Environment Committee, said. "We're subjected to earthquakes. So that rules out nuclear energy. So we're looking at solar. Our climate is mild enough to take advantage of it."

Alvin Duskin, co-director of the Solar-Cal project for a California state public solar development fund, says that "the unions in California are seeing that insofar as they want to deliver jobs, if they go nuclear they'll run into ten years of court battles, but on solar they'll get support from environmentalists."

## Rank and file interest.

Union leaders are also sensitive to growing popular support, among younger union members as well as the general public, for ecologically sound policies. Solar energy "is a good, clean, inexhaustible

## Government research in solar power self-defeating

The tiny federal program for solar energy development is misusing its limited resources by adopting an inappropriate "nuclear model" of technological progress, a detailed series of reports in *Science* magazine reveals.

Instead of stressing simple, "low" technology that can be brought into use quickly, the programs have sought complex, "high" technology solar solutions. Instead of taking advantage of the potential the sun offers for decentralized systems of energy capture, the federal program has emphasized centralized solar power.

The concentration of limited research money in a few expensive projects has also prematurely restricted innovation by government investigators in a field that is exploding with new options every month, the series, which started appearing on July 15 and will soon end, also suggested.

The current federal research favors highly capitalized corporations. That is not surprising since "one of the strongest outside influences on the shape of the program, according to well-informed observers, was the utility industry," report authors Allen L. Hammond and William D. Metz, "research news" editor and reporter for the prestigious journal, published by The American Academy for the Advancement of Science.

Utilities, oil companies and other energy corporations have consistently downplayed the possibilities of solar power while moving in to gain as much control as they can in the booming but still small industry. The solar research of the Energy Research and Development Administration, guided by those corporate interests, contributes to official skepticism about solar energy in a self-fulfilling circle of misinformation—despite conclusions by many investigators, including Congress's Office of Technology Assessment, that solar power is an immediate practical option for a vast range of home and industrial uses.

## Emphasis on large scale.

"Despite the diffuse nature of the resource," Hammond and Metz wrote, "the research program has emphasized large central stations to produce solar electricity in some distant future and has largely ignored small solar devices for producing on-site power—an approach

source of energy," Bernard McMonigle, associate director of research for the Sheet Metal Workers says. "Building tradesmen like the environment as much as anybody."

Half of young blue-collar workers rank environmental issues as very important to them, according to a survey published in 1972 in *Where Have All The Robots Gone?*, three times the rate of interest expressed by workers over 55 years old.

Along with this growing wave of environmental consciousness is a strong public sentiment for solar energy despite the prevailing public image presented of an exotic, futuristic solution of little immediate impact. Thirty-eight percent of the public believes that the sun will be the most important energy source for the country in 25 years, according to a survey made last May by Cambridge Re-

ports, the firm headed by President Carter's political advisor, Patrick Caddell.

More exchanges between environmentalist scientists and union leaders could alone make a great difference. A great deal of ignorance still exists about the possibilities with solar energy. "We're not engineers," James R. Sheets, research director for the Laborers International Union, says, "So we tend to generalize on the non-conventional energy sources. We don't quite understand how far the technology has advanced. We're in a position that we might be buying a pig in a poke."

one critic describes as "creating solar technologies in the image of nuclear power."

Total solar research has been at \$290 million for fiscal year 1977 and Carter is boosting it by only \$30 million for the next year. Government energy officials and oil company spokesmen would have spent even less but broad popular support has kept the program alive.

Although the energy industry is expanding with a "staggering rate of technical innovation," Hammond and Metz reported, "the burden of criticism from the solar energy community and from independent analysts is that the federal program has lagged rather than led many of these developments and that it has directed its research toward goals that betray a lack of understanding of the solar resource."

The prototype of the misguided research is the "power tower"—a boiler at the top of a column 20 to 100 stories tall that would be heated by thousands of mirrors rotated to follow the sun. "The success of the power tower concept will probably hinge on the development of the novel high-technology components, such as collectors, receivers, and thermal storage units," Metz wrote.

Four big aerospace firms—Martin Marietta, Honeywell, McDonnell-Douglas and Boeing—dominate the power tower technology field and would benefit, along with the private utilities, if power towers became the main way of generating electricity from the sun.

## Discounting photovoltaic approaches.

Meanwhile, despite growing evidence that photovoltaic cells that directly convert sunlight to electricity could become a competitive source of on-site (that is, decentralized) power within a decade, the Energy Research and Development Administration "characterizes photovoltaics as a long-range option with significance only in the next century," Hammond wrote.

Even with photovoltaics, which receive only one-seventh the funding provided to the far more difficult, exotic and long-term option of nuclear fusion power, ERDA has concluded that "photovoltaics can have a major impact only if large, utility-scale applications can be found," Hammond wrote. Yet photovoltaic cells are the decentralized source *par excellence*, since they can be used in a combination of any size, depending on the amount of electricity needed, and can be located anywhere there is a light source.

After a detailed review of new ways to reduce the cost of photovoltaics, which now generate electricity at a cost as much as 20 times that of conventional sources, Hammond concluded that "photovoltaic technology is advancing at an explosive rate, and the richness of the technical options already under investigation is a strong argument that one or more of the approaches to reducing

costs will work out."

Observers point to the development of semiconductors (transistors) as a model for photovoltaic cells. Once astronomically expensive, transistors quickly plummeted in price with expansion of mass production and invention of new manufacturing techniques.

"ERDA, in casting photovoltaics as strictly a long-term option and severely restricting its funding," Hammond wrote, "appears intent on ignoring both the stated objectives of its own sub-program and the signs of dynamism in the industry."

## Distortions in other areas.

The same bias toward centralized, large-scale, high-technology systems and the same pessimism about the immediate prospects for solar power have distorted other aspects of the federal research program, the *Science* series suggests. For example, ERDA has emphasized big windmills rather than improved small windmills in its wind power project.

The authors imply that the federal program also ignores the immediate applicability of many solar technologies to industrial and commercial uses, focusing only on the many home needs for heating throughout the entire country that nearly everyone in the field now recognizes could be met by the sun.

In addition, Hammond wrote, "the federal energy research program has largely downplayed the biomass option," that is, capturing solar power through the ancient and effective use of plants (such as trees, which yield more than that new solar wonder, firewood) and plant wastes.

Methane gas and ethanol are just two of the widely employable fuels that could be produced from an annual American supply of 277 million tons of agricultural residue, 26 million tons of feedlot manure, 107 million tons of forest products left behind in the woods or at the mills as a by-product of lumber production.

Although Hammond admits that "the economics of most biomass energy systems are still uncertain," he suggests that it may be a better option than the fledgling, expensive efforts to make gas and liquid fuels out of coal. Coal may be fairly plentiful, but it is still a non-renewable resource.

The federal program on solar energy development is far too small, especially when compared with its potential, its desirability and the amount of money poured into nuclear and other non-solar energy projects. Worse yet, the small program has been warped to meet the needs and technological preconceptions of large energy and aerospace corporations and away from the democratic promise of solar power. It is conceivable that this faulty solar energy program could retard the dawning of solar energy even more than no program at all.

—David Moberg

Sheets says. "We support solar energy and we'll support proposals that develop it. We don't have the capacities to make such proposals other than to say, 'Get off your butt and do something.'"

One major obstacle to union support of solar power, according to Gail Danker of the Environmentalists for Full Employment is that they "don't see the capital formation that is necessary." Although Carter's program does very little to capitalize solar energy, a proposal by Rep. Stephen L. Neal (D-N.C.) for a \$5 billion, low-interest Solar Development Bank might be made a rallying point for pro-solar unions and environmentalists.

Environmentalists and unionists would both benefit from a new alliance. John Yoltan, administrative assistant to UAW vice-president Odessa Komer, speculates, "Solar energy could be the vehicle to bring the people together."



## LABOR

# Union WAGE organizes women

**By Michelle Celarier**  
**"If a strike doesn't succeed, it doesn't mean you've failed,"** says Union WAGE (Women's Alliance to Gain Equality) President Manja Argue. "You learn how to be more effective the next time. You have to realize that organizing is hard, very hard and there's all kinds of setbacks."

Union WAGE, for instance has been helping Korean garment workers organize at Snow Lion, a Berkeley sleeping bag manufacturer. Unsuccessful so far, "it's not lost yet. There are still court battles going on. And what's most important is the strength and militance those women have gained from working together," says Argue.

Raising money for organizing efforts like the one at Snow Lion is just one of many projects that Union WAGE has worked on since its founding in the San Francisco Bay Area in 1971.

Union WAGE was formed in reaction to a 1971 National Organization of Women conference in Berkeley. Argue explains, "The women's movement then was mostly centered around middle-class professionals. There was no understanding of the problems of working women in NOW then, though lately it has changed to some extent."

While NOW began working for the ratification of the Equal Rights Amendment, WAGE was more concerned about the ERA's effect on low paid, unorganized women workers. "At that time, Title VII of the Civil Rights Act and the ERA were being used nationwide to invalidate protective legislation that applied only to women and minors."

Mainly due to the efforts of WAGE and a group it spawned—the Coalition of Workers Rights—these regulations of basic working conditions regarding health and safety, overtime, rest breaks and the minimum wage, now exist for all workers in California.

## 32 women against the state.

"They thought we were a mass movement," Argue reminisced. "Actually it was 32 women against the state of California at the beginning, making constant phone calls to legislators and picketing."

**"We take the definition of working women a little further to include the woman who works at home,"** says Union WAGE president Manja Argue (right).

Though the group was small, it was diligent. Now the national organization has around 300 members, with chapters as far away as Seattle and New York.

Open to all women workers, WAGE includes women in unions, those not organized in unions and those whose labor is unrecognized in the economy. As Argue explains:

"We take the definition of working women a little further to include the woman who works at home, though she is not paid. It also includes women on unemployment or welfare. After all, welfare mothers are raising future workers. Where we do draw the line, though, is at the management level." "You have to draw the line somewhere," she says, only half jokingly.

"Any issue that affects working women—in the home, job or community—is a possibility for a WAGE project," says Argue.

"Each chapter looks to its own community and makes decisions as to what should be done there. In Redding, California, for example, where there's a big tourism industry along Interstate 5, the chapter has become active in attempts to organize motel maids."

In San Francisco, which is a major financial and insurance center, the work has centered around clericals."

## Doesn't organize unions.

Despite the title "Union WAGE," WAGE does not go out and organize



women into unions. "WAGE" can't favor one union over another. Many of us belong to different unions," says Argue, who works for Pacific Bell and is a member of the Communication Workers of America.

"What we do is serve as a resource for women who want to organize. We tell them how to go about contacting their co-workers, what laws can help them, how to shop for an international if they want to affiliate," explains Argue. "Then, if they do become unionized, we'll hold benefits and raise money for strikes, walk the picket lines and explain how to negotiate a contract."

Of special help has been a pamphlet "Organize," which WAGE published. A "how-to" manual, this unique guide has won the organization much respect in the labor movement.

Argue differentiates WAGE from another working women's organization, the Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). CLUW is "composed of women already in the union leadership," says Argue.

"At the founding convention of CLUW, there were thousands of rank and file working women, but the organization simply had no place for them, nothing for them to do."

"I think those women are still out there, looking for a movement they can participate in," she adds, criticizing CLUW for restricting its membership to union members, since so many women are unorganized.

"They say one of their goals is to organize the unorganized. But how can you do that if you won't let them into your organization?" questions Argue.

## Autonomy key.

The autonomy of WAGE chapters is what Argue sees as the key to rank and file participation within that organization. "All a group has to do is have seven members and agree with the purposes and goals and it can be a chapter," she says. The 11 goals include such things as equal pay for equal work, encouraging women's participation in unions, fighting racism and discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation, raising special demands of women workers such as childcare and maternity leaves, abortion on demand and a minimum wage starting at \$4.00 an hour.

Union WAGE sees itself as part of a growing attempt to infuse feminism into the labor movement and a pro-union consciousness into the women's movement.

"WAGE is a working class organization," Argue says. "It takes a working class point of view—that the enemy of workers is the boss. We see that there are certain things workers can achieve in life if they work together, and these needs are opposed to those of the bosses. That's why unions were formed in the first place."

*Michelle Celarier is a free lance writer in Seattle.*

# Texas farmworkers begin hunger strike



Led by Antonio Orendain (right) Texas farmworkers complete their 82 day, 1482 mile march on Washington.

**By Dave Ransom**  
**R**ebuffed in their attempts to meet with President Carter after a 1482 mile "March for Human Rights," 11 members of the Texas Farm Workers union (TFW) have begun a hunger strike in front of the White House.

"We are asking the warrior for human rights, after he is finished talking to the dictators, to give us just five minutes of his time" explains TFW president Antonio Orendain.

The 50 marchers who left Austin, Texas on June 18 and marched 20 miles a day through the South this summer were joined by some 600 supporters as they marched across the Potomac into Washington on Labor Day.

At a press conference Orendain told newsmen that "farm workers cannot celebrate Labor Day as an equal partner in American labor" because they are not extended the basic collective bargaining rights guaranteed other workers by the National Labor Relations Act.

"We must have a right to put a price on the sweat of our labor," he said, "because it is the only thing that we sell to the growers, the same way as they sell things to us."

Orendain said that, taking into consideration the "many important matters" the President has to deal with, the TFW

would be available to meet with him "any hour, any day" that week. But the President couldn't be budged, even by phone calls from Senator Lloyd Bentson of Texas, himself a grower, and such representatives as Gonzalez of Texas, Thompson of New Jersey, and Dellums of California.

A week earlier the administration had sent Secretary of Labor Ray Marshall to the convention of Cesar Chavez's United Farm Workers (UFW). Marshall told the UFW that he favors adding a section to the NLRA that would cover farm workers, a proposal he repeated when he met with the TFW on Wednesday after Labor Day. But the TFW, like the UFW, emphasized that, while they want the collective bargaining principles of the NLRA, applying the act as it is presently constituted to farm workers would be like "wearing a tuxedo to work in the fields."

Migrant farm workers work in any one field for only six to 12 weeks, and the following season half the crew can be new. Consequently, the TFW favors "speedy" unionization elections—within a week—coming after only 20 or 30 percent of the crew sign union cards.

The TFW also looks forward to breaking the power over the workers

wielded by the labor contractor, who gathers the crew, transports them to the fields and hires them out to the grower, taking part of their pay for the privilege. The UFW has replaced this with union hiring halls in California, but this is illegal under the Texas "right-to-work" law.

For this reason the TFW is adamant in its demand for the repeal of Section 14(b) of the Taft-Hartley Act, the federal law that enables states to adopt "right-to-work" laws.

TFW leaders Orendain and Jorge Zaragoza were long-time UFW organizers who set up a separate Texas union only after Chavez made it clear that the UFW would concentrate its organizing in California.

Orendain has already sent key organizers back to Texas to meet the Mexican and Chicano migrants as they return from the "big swing" that takes them as far north as the sugar beet fields of Michigan and Minnesota. And the TFW is planning its own big swing through the major cities of the nation to consolidate their support for the next step—a major strike of agricultural workers in Texas.

*Dave Ransom is a free lance writer who has been covering the TFW March.*



# IN THE WORLD

## LATIN AMERICA

### "I've had no time to be a sad widow"

By David Moberg  
Staff Writer

The memories are still vivid for Isabel Letelier, even if they do not slow her down.

"I've had no time to be a sad widow," she says. "There has been too much work to do."

Yet sadness and anger are there, a year after her husband Orlando, ambassador from Chile during the years of Salvador Allende's socialist government, and Ronni Karpen Moffitt, a young American associate, were shredded to death by a bomb that exploded in their car.

Her work this past year has been with the Institute for Policy Studies, the Washington research group that gave a home to Orlando Letelier in exile and where Ronni Moffitt and her husband, Michael, worked. She has continued the task she shared with her husband of exposing the policies of the right-wing junta that has ruled Chile with a terrible, torturing hand since the September 1973 coup.

But she has also sought to force the U.S. government to find and punish the killers of her husband and friend.

#### Pinochet kills in September

"Just the night before Orlando's assassination, Michael Moffitt and Ronni Karpen Moffitt had dinner with us," Isabel Letelier recalled. The slightly grey-streaked hair of the poised, energetic mother of four framed eyes that flashed happiness at those memories, fury at the perpetrators of what soon followed.

"They arrived together with Orlando. He came into the house with a copy of the Chilean official *Gazette* in which the decree that took away his nationality was printed. He said, 'Why don't we frame this document?'"

"The language was so vicious. It said that Orlando should be given the most shameful punishment that Chilean law considers, because he was a traitor. The decree was signed not only by [Gen. Augusto] Pinochet [head of the junta] but also the four generals of the junta and all the cabinet members.

"So I said, 'No, I'm going to put this in the trash can.'"

"'No,' Orlando said. 'Come on. This decree has saved my life.'"

"I received a letter today," he said. "The letter was sent by someone very close to the junta. They tell me that there was a big discussion within the junta for many months. One group wanted to take my nationality and the other group wanted to kill me. Fortunately the doves won. So I have another year to go."

"Michael Moffitt said, 'Why are you speaking of another year?'"

"Orlando said, 'Because Pinochet kills in September.' He was referring to Gen Carlos Prats [killed in Argentina in exile], the attempt to kill Bernardo Leighton in Rome, and of course Allende."

#### Junta orders killings

But Letelier did not have another year. He died the next day. Isabel Letelier suspected that the letter was in his briefcase, but the case was not returned to her until much later. Although the letter was never found, the continuing investigation by ALMA (Action Committee on the Letelier-Moffitt Assassinations) and—according to a Sept. 8 column by Jack Anderson and Les Whitten—by the FBI have generally confirmed the suspicions of the survivors: the killings were ordered by the



violations, and Jose Dionisio Suarez, in jail on contempt charges for refusing to testify before the grand jury.

#### U.S. policy confusing

Isabel Letelier finds the U.S. policies toward Chile under the Carter administration confusing. In March she listened to a U.S. delegate to the United Nations Human Rights Commission speak out against not only the Pinochet junta but also the past role of the U.S.

"It was a beautiful, extraordinary thing," she said, "like fresh air coming into the room, and all the Europeans were very pleased with the U.S. They said, 'They really mean what they're talking about.' But now I witness Pinochet and all these guys having lobster at the White House. And the Assistant Secretary of State goes to Chile and says he sees progress in a country where we don't have a congress, we don't have free speech, we don't have elections. So I'm very confused."

Letelier calls announcements that DINA has been dissolved a "bluff" designed to win favor with Carter, who indirectly commemorated the coup and Letelier's assassination last week by naming George A. Landau, the current ambassador to Paraguay, as the ambassador to Chile.

But Isabel Letelier claims that the charter of the new Center for National Information is virtually identical to that of DINA and that the 20,000 secret police once recruited from ranks of the military, various businesses and right-wing organizations will keep up their espionage and terrorism, as they return to their old positions.

"That makes it more dangerous. Each of them is on the payroll of the job he previously had but now it's more difficult to trace them. Do you put 20,000 people out of jobs overnight, people who have been responsible for thousands of crimes? Repression is a one-way street. You have to keep on doing it, because there are people who know you have done it and you have to protect yourself."

#### Resistance is broad

The oppression will change, relying more on broken spirits and economic hardship, except for attacks on any emerging opposition leaders, she says.

There is a resistance movement, very restrained perhaps but apparently quite broad. The church-organized Committee for Peace was dissolved in January 1975, but then the Catholic church organized the Vicariate of Solidarity within its own structure to prevent government attack.

"They are feeding the population," Letelier said. "They are employing people in the workshops. And they are giving legal assistance. They are supporting morally all the people who are considered the enemy. It is the only place where people whose relatives have disappeared can go and say, 'My husband was arrested last night, and I went to the police today and they said they did not arrest him, that they have never heard of him.'"

Although the unions were reorganized by the junta under appointed leaders, Letelier says that "as soon as the appointed presidents gain consciousness of the people's need, they start demanding things for people."

Fundamentally, "our resistance is being there," Isabel Letelier says, "being informed and informing others, and staying alive." In Chile, that is often no mean achievement.

### Isabel Letelier thinks Pinochet had Cubans kill her husband. The conspiracy has been traced to a secret Dominican Republic meeting.

leaders of the Chilean junta to silence one of its most effective critics.

"We have received many messages from inside the country reaffirming that there was such a discussion and many times Pinochet expressed his displeasure at Orlando's activities. He mentioned it in front of Manuel Contreras Sepulveda (then head of DINA, the secret police).

"Our conclusions have been the same from the very beginning—that it was Pinochet who ordered the murder, Contreras who sent somebody to contact the Cubans, and the Cubans finally who bombed the car."

#### Contact with Cuban exiles

More details of a likely series of meetings leading to the assassination are now available from various sources with informants in the Washington, D.C. police, the Justice Department, Chile, and the anti-Castro Cuban underground.

According to this scenario, Pinochet directed Contreras to arrange the killing of Letelier in the spring of 1976. An unknown Captain X, possibly one of the top-ranking DINA officers, traveled to the U.S. under a pseudonym.

Captain X met with Hector Duran, a Chilean consular official in Miami, according to these informants. Duran, allegedly a DINA agent with close ties to the right-wing Cuban underground in Miami, is said to have arranged a contract with some leaders of Brigade 2506,

an association of veterans of the Bay of Pigs invasion. Two of the Brigade leaders, Roberto Carballo and Armando Lopez-Estrada, testified before the Letelier grand jury earlier this year.

The members of Brigade 2506 are then alleged to have made a sub-contract for the killings with Cuban exile explosive experts in New Jersey.

At the luxurious private lodge of a large corporation in Bonaire, the Dominican Republic, a large number of exile Cuban terrorists gathered in June 1976 under the auspices of an organization known as CORU. Frank Castro, a Dominican-based Cuban exile with close ties to Gulf and Western and the Dominican security forces, helped organize the meeting, according to informed sources. Orlando Bosch, another exile now held in a Venezuela military prison on sedition charges, also played a role.

The Bonaire terrorists reportedly broke up into sub-groups to plot different assassination and terrorist efforts. One of the plans was the killing of Letelier. Duran allegedly relayed the final plans back to Captain X from DINA, who approved them.

On September 21, 1976, the Letelier car exploded in the block in front of the Chilean embassy in Washington while the Moffitts and Letelier were driving to work. Investigators believe that as many as four Cubans may have been involved.

Two suspects are Guillermo Novo, currently sought as a fugitive on parole

Marcello Montecino



## LATIN AMERICA

## Cuban exile bombs mark DC meeting

**W**ASHINGTON—The two powerful explosions that rocked this already tense city on the eve of the Panama Canal Treaty ceremonies were the latest in a series of attacks by a terrorist network of CIA-trained anti-Castro Cubans operating out of Miami and other cities in the U.S. and abroad. The exile terrorists showed that they could operate with ease even when security forces had been quadrupled for the largest gathering of heads of state here since the assassination of President John F. Kennedy in 1963.

One bomb, set off in an alley behind the Soviet Aeroflot building, was so powerful that it sucked out five floors of windows in a hotel across the street by its vacuum effect. The second bomb was set off in a concrete flower pedestal maintained by the city across the street from the Pan American Union building, a little more than a block from the White House. Both blasts went off around 2:30 a.m. September 7, miraculously injuring no one.

The first group claiming credit for the bombings identified itself as the "Pedro Luis Boitel Commando Group," a band that surfaced in Miami in May with the bombing of a charter airline service seeking to establish direct air links to Havana. The group also took credit for the bombing of a Venezuelan airliner at Miami International airport. Pedro Boitel, once a comrade of Fidel Castro, was imprisoned after the Cuban Revolution and soon became an exile martyr for leading hunger strikes, the last of which led to his death in 1974. The attack on the airliner is thought to have been arranged by the group to show its displeasure with the Venezuelan government, which has been holding in jail Dr. Orlando Bosch, leader of another terrorist organization, which sabotaged a

During the Canal treaty meeting, Cuban exiles protested the thaw in U.S.-Cuban relations. Afterwards, they sought reassurances from Pinochet, their closest ally.

Cuban airlines flight last October, killing all 73 persons aboard in a mid-air explosion.

The second group to thump its chest for the Washington bombings called itself "El Condor," which is the nickname for terrorist leader Rolando Otero, now in jail in Miami for six bombings in a single night in that city. Both groups said they set off the bombs in Washington last week as a symbol of their resistance to any rapprochement between the U.S. and Cuba.

The two newest terrorist groups are the latest reincarnation of the Cuban exile armies built by the CIA for a clandestine war against Fidel Castro that began with the Bay of Pigs invasion and continued with numerous assassination attempts and sabotage operations on the island over the next decade.

The Cuban terrorist gangs are thought to number no more than some 200 highly dedicated and skilled operators who have been brave enough to proclaim on a C.B.S. news documentary that they will kill anyone whom they consider a threat to their goal of blocking any steps towards normalization of relations between Havana and Washington. Some close observers of the gangs think they are growing stronger as the American government fails to exterminate them.

Others think that at least one gang, the Cuban Nationalist Movement which operates out of Union City, New Jersey, has been seriously weakened by the investigation of the murder of Orlando Letelier, which has pinpointed the gang's leaders as prime suspects in the attack that also took the life of an American colleague, Ronni Karpen Moffitt.

#### Pinochet connection.

Since the U.S. has begun to cut back its support of the terrorists, the Cuban exiles have found increasing hospitality from the anti-Communist military dictators in Latin America. They have looked in particular to Chile's General Augusto Pinochet. Cuban Orlando Bosch admitted in an interview last spring that, beginning in 1974 he was able to operate from bases in Chile and travel with a Chilean passport. Since the assassination of Letelier, the exiles have become increasingly anxious that Pinochet might be pulling back from his support of terrorist activities to improve his relations with President Carter.

Pinochet had scheduled a stop in Miami on his way back home from the Panama Canal Treaty ceremonies last week as a gesture of support for their cause. According to Miami exile sources contacted by *In These Times*, however,

the exiles wanted more than a gesture.

Three weeks ago, the leaders of Brigade 2506 sent Pinochet a message outlining the conditions for a Miami meeting, hand carried by Consul General Hector Duran from Miami to Santiago. The letter, a copy of which has been obtained by *ITT*, set down five conditions for a meeting, which was to be held aboard Pinochet's jetliner at Miami International Airport.

First, the Brigade wanted Pinochet to proclaim "the willingness of the government of Chile to support the fight against the tyranny of Fidel Castro . . ." Secondly, the Brigade wanted to know "the ways and means of the support of Chile in the fight . . ." The third condition demanded by the Brigade was "consideration of the necessary means to implement this fight . . ." They also wanted to know what they would get in return for their work, or, as it was put, "the aspirations of the government of Chile in exchange for its support and help" against Castro. And finally, the Brigade wanted Pinochet to sign "a joint statement . . . giving details of the talks and taking international responsibility" for the arrangements between them. The letter was signed by 2506 President Roberto Carballo.

According to one Miami source close to the Brigade, the terrorists had insisted on the last condition because of their fears that Pinochet had been pulling back. But the meeting was not held as scheduled. A Miami source with first hand knowledge of planning for the meeting suggested that Pinochet had been willing to make a ceremonial stopover in Miami, so that the exiles could "wave flags at the airport and Pinochet could tell them to keep the faith, but that was not enough for the exiles." They apparently wanted a "treaty."

## Mexico doesn't show in protest of treaty

Despite official denials and a transparent excuse, it is clear that President Jose Lopez Portillo stayed away from the signing of the Panama Canal treaty in Washington Sept. 7 for reasons for state. Foreign minister Santiago Roel, who went to Washington simply as an observer, admitted as much on leaving Mexico City by saying that he had been charged with "a difficult mission." He said that any joint declaration, which President Carter and General Torrijos hope to extract from the assembled Presidents, "could be interpreted as a violation of the principle of non-intervention."

He also mentioned the fact that the government did not relish the idea of supping with the military dictators of the Southern Cone. Newspapers in Mexico have taken Roel's remarks a stage further. Manuel Buendia, writing in *El Sol*, said the joint communique would purport to demonstrate that "Latin American governments ratify with their applause the terms of the new treaty, and accept it as a useful and positive precedent in their relations with the great power of the north."

This, said Buendia, would greatly strengthen the position of the U.S., "commercially, politically and militarily." But Mexico has not been and will not be part of the chorus of applause. Buendia listed three objections to the treaty: it places severe and injurious restrictions on the exercise of Panamanian sovereignty over its own territory; it grants the U.S. the right to safeguard its interests in the Canal in perpetuity, by force if necessary; and it allows it to build a new canal in Panama if it wishes.

Buendia's account of the matter is

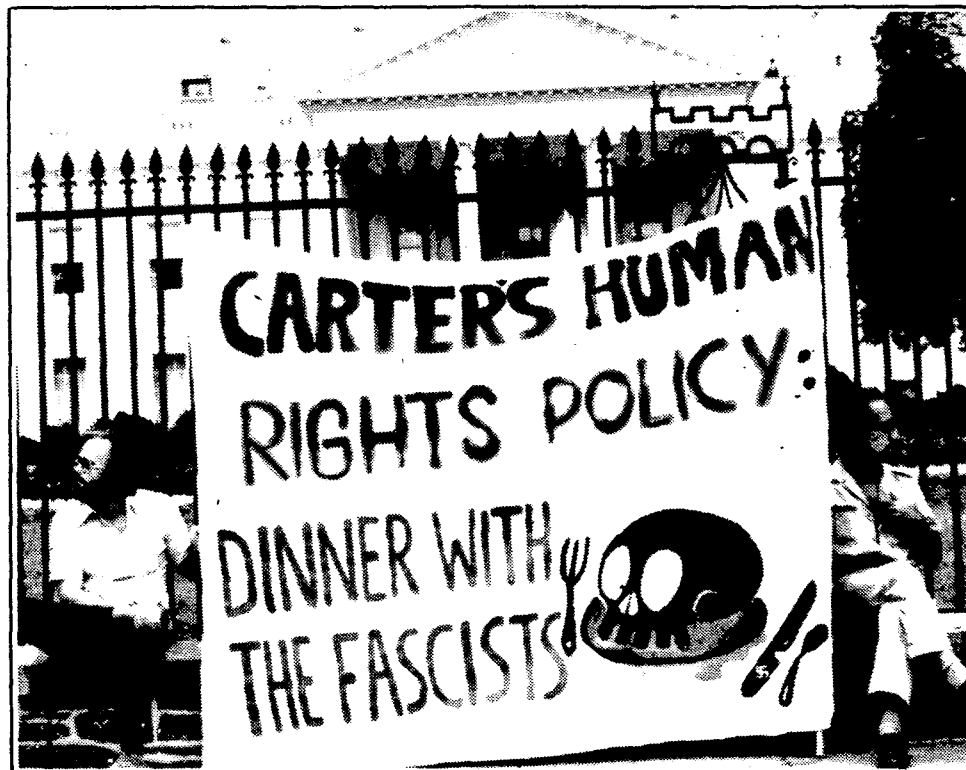
One Mexican journalist charged that the Canal treaty strengthens the U.S. "commercially, politically, and militarily."

probably not far from the mark. Lopez Portillo was considerably less enthusiastic than his fellow Presidents in Bogota, where Torrijos outlined the proposed agreements. In fact, all the Presidents except Carlos Andres Perez felt Torrijos had given too much away in agreeing to give the U.S. first option on the construction of a sea-level canal.

The President's decision not to go to Washington is well calculated and should not cost Mexico much, if anything, in its dealings with Washington. It cannot be used by the right in the U.S. as an argument against the treaty. In fact, the Mexicans are making it quite clear that they would like to see a more radical treaty. This might assist the passage of the actual treaty through the U.S. Senate.

Internally, the gesture will be appreciated as another symbol of Mexican independence from the U.S., and repudiation of the military regimes of the Southern Cone. Lopez Portillo argues that it is more useful to stay at home minding the shop than to go to Washington at President Carter's bidding. In that sense, his excuse that he has to attend important budget meetings is no less than the truth.

—Latin America Political Report



## Two thousand demonstrate against Carter dinner with dictators

While President Carter dined at the White House September 7 with some 25 Latin American dictators and high government officials following Panama Canal treaty ceremonies, some 2,000 people gathered outside for a demonstration. The demand, as expressed by one speaker: "We want those people out of the White House, but more, we want them out of our Americas."

"The U.S. government," said a member of Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH), "would very much like to create the impression that these governments represent their people, to legitimize some of the repressive regimes of Latin America which have been under severe criticism."

Representatives of governments of the Americas were officially invited to the U.S. for the signing of the Panama Canal treaties, and constituted, in Carter's words, "the largest group of heads of state ever assembled" in the Pan American Union building in Washington, D.C.

Carter's press representatives defended the President's personal meeting with the string of dictators and high government officials, saying he intended to "push" them on the human rights issue.

"They don't respond to abstract and moral concern," said the NICH member, "but to mass pressure on an international scale."

—Liberation News Service



*The Labour Party has abandoned socialist politics in favor of doing what is necessary to get by for another month. And the vision of a socialist commonwealth has been lost to the reality of race conflict, class bitterness, and ideological nihilism.*

# LETTER FROM BRITAIN

By Martin A. Jackson

**S**EARCHED FOR BOMBS AT THE British Museum; handbags and packages carefully inspected at the Jubilee Exhibit in Hyde Park; a full scale body search at Heathrow Airport on the way to Ireland. London is under attack, or so it seems to the visitor who isn't used to such high-powered security. But why are the British so nervous and jittery this summer?

It's not from the IRA or the PLO. Britain is frightened by a spreading notion that some corner has been turned, that the old ways will not be restored, no matter what happens to the pound or the balance of payments. British society is under bone-racking pressures and is reacting in the normal way for established social orders—it is pulling down the hatch covers and fighting to keep the old patterns intact. It won't work, I'm afraid.

Politics in Britain today consist of doing what is necessary to get by for another month. In a country where muddling through is cherished as a national talent, the Labour Party and James Callaghan have made it an ideology.

Callaghan and his ministers have erected a trembling structure of political survival, built on two main supports: North Sea oil and the social contract. The rivers of petroleum from the North Sea are supposed to rebuild the British economy and provide support for the tattered pound; the social contract is designed to ensure labor peace and a ceiling on inflation.

Beyond budgets and complex Treasury figures, the government offer little; certainly they offer none of the dreams of socialism or reform that once moved British voters. The compulsive interest in finances is, perhaps, understandable

in a country where trade balances and currency fluctuations have played havoc with living standards. But there is the unsettling feeling as one walks through London that this old, and in many ways admirable, society can't be patched together with oil and accounting tricks.

## Dying social contract.

The trade unions never really accepted the social contract, which bound them not to strike and the government not to slash benefits or allow prices to soar too high. Under the gun a year ago, with the prospect of a Conservative government that would ravage social services, the Trades Union Congress accepted the idea of a "contract" to give the Labour ministry a breathing space. But it was an unhappy and forced agreement from the start, bitterly resented by the miners and other powerful unions.

By July 1977 the social contract was near death despite Callaghan's pleading and warnings. Ironically, it was the medical profession, hardly a band of militants, that became the cutting edge of the union movement this time. Solemnly passing resolutions, British doctors have promised to strike Britain's health services in the Fall unless they get solid pay increases beyond the 10 percent limit that Callaghan is committed to preserving. The miners, transport workers and newspapermen are watching carefully for cracks in the pay ceilings, while Callaghan for his part has been proclaiming the end of civilization if the contract is breached.

"It is not politics that matters here," he said on August 1, "it is what is going to happen to Britain . . . Are we going to be able to live in the world? The fate of Britain is at stake." The unions and their leadership listen to these warnings in stony silence, still not prepared to vio-

late the contract and clash openly with a Labour government, as they once clashed with Heath and the Conservatives. But disenchantment with Callaghan runs deep; it would take only a small spark to generate a trade union conflagration.

## Tories smell blood.

Perhaps the unions are held in check by the knowledge that if they topple the present Labour ministry, the replacement will be Margaret Thatcher and her Conservatives, beside whom the current government would seem positively benevolent. The Tories smell blood as Callaghan flounders through a season of racial trouble and labor unease—several votes of confidence in Parliament have been saved for Labour only with the help of a jerry-built alliance with the vestigial Liberal Party in Commons.

But Thatcher has come off well also; she won great acclaim for her performance toward the end of the session in August, when she flayed the Callaghan government in a speech that established her as a genuine political power and not an oddity.

Indeed, Thatcher has become a far more interesting political figure than almost anyone else in Britain today. She proclaims without shame her belief in the moral value of capitalism and in self-interest as a motive force in the economy. In the kind of speeches that have nearly disappeared from national politics, she discusses large issues and probes the usually unexamined beliefs that govern the major parties. The left's response has been uncoordinated and generally ineffective; none of the major voices on the left have countered her arguments with equal skill or apparent reasonableness.

Socialism, in fact, can find few defen-





ders in Britain these days. The extreme left is there, of course, and lately the Socialist Workers Party has made news by its penchant for street brawling. The other left parties issue their manifestoes and pamphlets as they always have, but the British people are largely unresponsive to these socialist apologetics. Even the Labour Party finds little value in emphasizing its socialism

### Disappointment with socialism

The laboring masses aren't listening to the old battle cries; talk about class struggle and national ownership and the likely response is a bored nod (of course, of course, the bloody capitalists) but without any deep feeling.

In July the *Sunday Observer* carried a long interview with a "typical" British workingman in an effort to understand the consumerism and bad temper of the '70s. The subject of the piece, a long-time unionist and socialist, expressing his sense of opportunities lost, concluded by saying that "there has been a definite severance of values between my generation and the young generation . . . they have lost the unchanging values of civilised society in the materialism that surrounds them. We're floating in mid-air, marionettes dancing in a vast edifice built for money-making."

An eloquent worker, to be sure, and the *Observer* is no friend of the left, but the feelings could as well be applied to a majority of Britain's working people who have been disappointed in the socialist movement and in the shape of the world that emerged after 1945.

For many Britons, and not only the middle classes, the socialist movement has been a failure or at least a disappointment. It may have been a case of great expectations and therefore great disillusion

when the dreams turned sour. For many of the British working class in the years between the wars, socialism was the only sane answer to the blight of unemployment and injustice. With Clement Attlee's election in 1945 the nation clearly spoke for social change and it seemed to many that the bright dawn was indeed breaking, despite the shortages and rationing of those post-war years. The dream was that Britain, governed by a rational socialist party, would build a social order of justice and equality, based on human needs and not on profit.

What was built in the years since is a society that is richer materially, but not noticeably more just. "Socialism," even for many working people and trade unionists, has meant government interference, inept management, bureaucratic waste and political muddle. National health plans and public ownership of key industries are all to the good, but they have failed to capture the dream of socialism that inspired millions of Britons during the grim '30s and throughout the grind of the war.

### Rise of the right.

It shouldn't be surprising that capitalism is making a comeback. In the chic parlors and literary pubs that would have rung with Marxism and left-wing politics only a few years ago, the talk today is of free enterprise, self-gain and individualism as the solution to British economic troubles. It is altogether contemporary to read F.H. Hayek and Milton Friedman, and speak approvingly of them as does Thatcher.

The National Association for Freedom (NAFF), a vaguely Ayn Randian ginger group on the right, has been active in opposing union closed shop contracts and generally fighting for

the rights of individuals threatened by the Leviathan of the socialist state. It helped bring suit in the case of the Grunwick strike, siding of course with the company and those workers who refused to join the union.

NAFF and the other intellectual rediscoveries of capitalist virtues represent one side of the disillusion with the failure of the British socialist movement, but for other groups, the collapse of socialist idealism has taken more unsavory forms. The steady decline of living standards and the distress of many working people (unemployment reached 1,613,000 in August, the highest figure since World War II) have helped create a fertile soil for the growth of rightist groups to whom violence is inborn. The National Front is probably the largest such group, certainly it has gotten the best media coverage in recent years and seems to have been making progress in some local elections.

### Racism an issue.

The Front is a standard 20th century right-wing protest organization, built on working class unhappiness and maintained by clever leadership. The formula for their success is almost classic: explain the bad times by means of a convenient enemy and hammer home the message until it is believed. In the case of the Front, the enemy is the immigrant, specifically the black and Asian immigrant who is blamed for taking jobs from white Britons and whose deportation would, according to the Front, result in jobs and prosperity for all native workers. Racism, in other words, forms the heart of the Front ideology and while their analysis is simple-minded when viewed from a distance it has a wide appeal in a country where unemployment does exist, large numbers of non-whites

have immigrated since 1945 and racial prejudice is deeply rooted.

In Britain the dimensions of the racial problem are only now becoming evident, after several years during which the British luxuriated in smug satisfaction about the racial conflict in the U.S. The myth of British racial harmony has long been exploded, by the appeal of the National Front and by some nasty riots in London centered on the Notting Hill Carnival, a black festival held in late August.

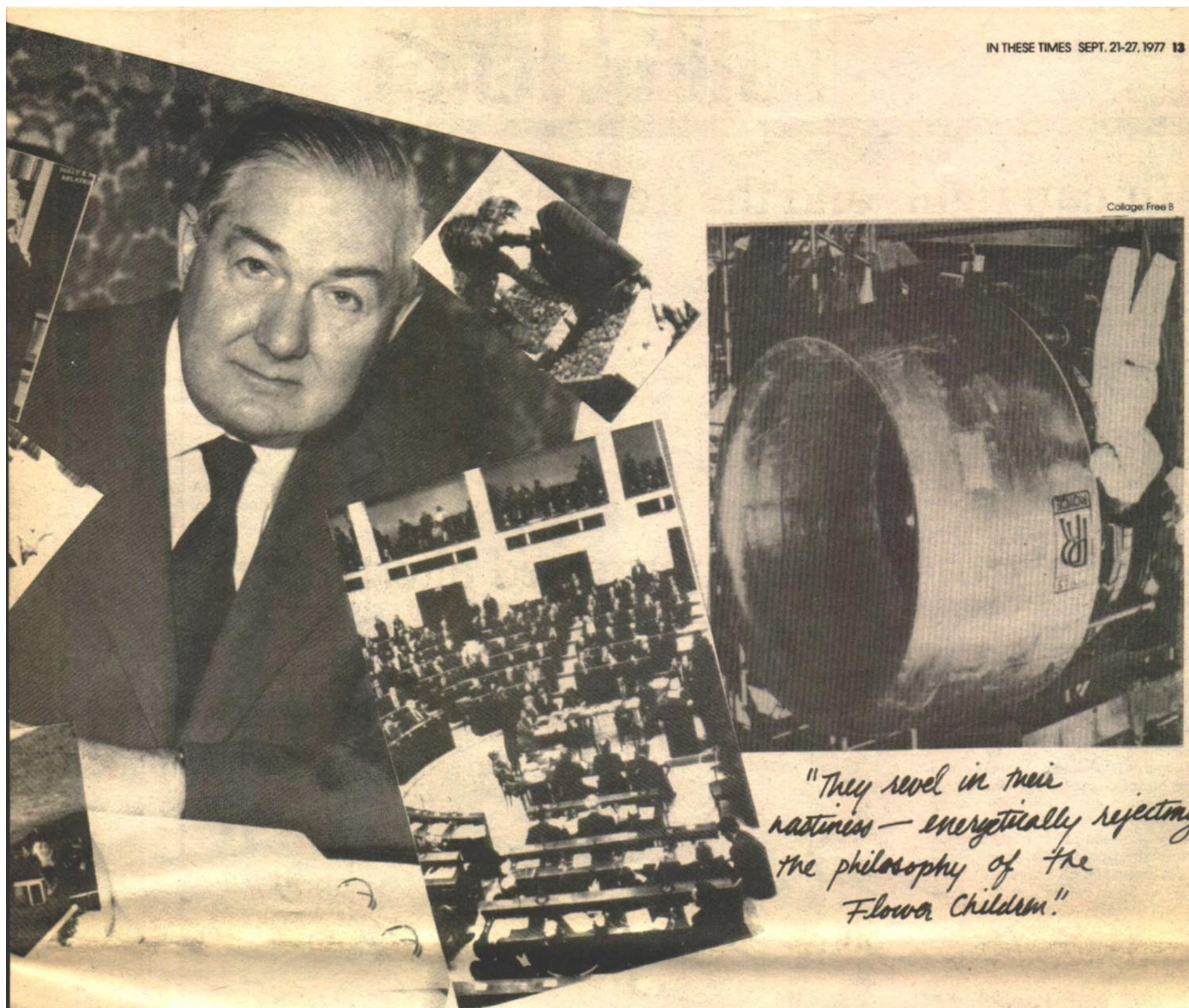
Britain is a country where politicians such as Enoch Powell can generate considerable mileage out of a virulent racism of a sort that would be laughed off any public platform in the U.S. Indeed, Powell has taken on greater respectability since the National Front became prominent—next to the Front, Powell is a moderate in racial matters.

The Front's recent marches through London and Birmingham, which were violently opposed by the Socialist Workers Party and other militants on the left, stirred unpleasant memories of the mid-30s, when Oswald Mosely and his British Union of Fascists played a similar game. Mosely chose to parade his Black Shirts through the Jewish East End, and was greeted by the Communist organized barricades and bricks in the "Battle of Cable Street" in 1936. The depression-bound '30s are a living, and carefully maintained memory in Britain, so that the parallel between the National Front and the fascism of that decade is uncomfortable if not precise in every detail.

### The punk rock message.

Racial feeling has even surfaced in the pop world, specifically in the latest musical trend of "punk rock." Punk is for the most part a media creation; the Sunday supplements are having a grand time with stories and pictures of the bizarre





punk rockers with their multi-colored hair, leather clothing and pierced noses. All this could be dismissed as the usual pop culture whimsicality if it were not for the heavy dose of racism that is part and parcel of the punk message. In the lyrics and activities of the punk rockers, the ideology of white supremacy and violent anti-colored feeling is out in the open.

Punk is exclusively a white teen-age phenomenon and it appeals to that part of the British working class population that suffers most severely from the unemployment and spiritual depression of this decade. Just as violence exists among unemployed young blacks in the U.S., so it has taken root in the school leavers and unemployed white young people of Britain. They revel in their nastiness, energetically rejecting the philosophy of the Flower Children and the Beatles in favor of an adolescent version of Hitler's Storm Troopers.

Punk rock may be hype (and I doubt that it will take on the dimension of the '60s hippie movement) but when several hundred teenagers gather to hear music that glorifies violence and nihilism, wearing their leather studded belts and swastika armbands, there is some cause for concern. If the Front or any other group learns how to harness this anger, the politics of Britain may be vastly different in the years ahead.

#### Arab shoppers.

All of this racial bitterness has surfaced at a time when London is filled with non-white visitors, most noticeably the Middle Easterners who are arriving by the plane-load to take advantage of the declining pound. The British are putting up bravely with the embarrassing sight of Oxford Street and Harrods under Arab siege, the shops and banks catering to

the men in long robes and women in veils who spend their money with the abandon of, well, arab oil sheiks. A London cab driver probably summed up the attitude toward these visitors when he told me "I don't see Arabs, I see pound notes."

Their pride may be damaged but the British know perfectly well that the big spenders from Kuwait and the Emirates represent an important resource these days, and that Britain would be in even worse financial straits if not for the millions spent and invested by these former colonials. The money is certainly welcome and London is enjoying its best tourist season in history with an estimated one billion pounds income expected by the end of the year.

But the symbolism of this tourist invasion isn't lost on the British. There is a sense, probably well justified, that the former seat of Empire has become a quaint tourist stop, a place where rich travellers can shop for bargains, but no longer a nation that carries weight in world councils. This loss of *amour propre* isn't easily measured but shouldn't be ignored in judging the present mood of the British people. The Arab shoppers in London, the almost total reliance upon American arms for national defense and the pared-down pound all add up to a loss of pride, sometimes not admitted to but sensible whenever Britons read of another hotel sold to Kuwaitis or see the well-heeled Germans disembarking at Heathrow Airport.

#### Falling pound.

The most apparent shift in national prestige is the inflation and concurrent drop in the value of sterling. The inflation is felt everyday in food prices, which have soared to unimagined heights in the past

few years and which some political figures have linked to British membership in the Common Market.

Anthony Benn and other Labour leftists have been mounting a serious campaign to have Britain withdraw from EEC, claiming that Market agricultural policies mean high prices for British consumers and fat profits for German and French farmers.

Callaghan has thus far defeated these attempts from his left, as well as proposals to slash defense spending. But the discontent of the British consumer, faced with a 20 percent inflation of late and the highest prices in memory, grows daily and Benn is finding a substantial audience for his criticism of the EEC. Membership in the Common Market could well be an election issue when Callaghan goes to the polls, with the outcome of any national referendum on the matter highly unpredictable.

As for the pound sterling, it has lately taken a turn for the better thanks to the arrival of North Sea oil and the unprecedented tourist spending. The latter, of course, is dependent on a continued weak pound and for that reason the Treasury stepped in to keep the pound from rising too far, as it threatened to do in August when the dollar took a tumble. Still, Callaghan has taken credit for the improved position of sterling and the healthier trade figures, and has even hinted at a favorable balance of trade by the end of the year. These developments would be welcome but probably more symbolic than real. The deep rooted ills of the British economy cannot be cured with one good season or even by the arrival of the long-awaited North Sea oil, although the advent of self-sufficiency in oil would clearly be a boon to the nation.

#### Memories of World War II.

A more substantial measure of the nation's world position came in August, when a specially formed "think tank" at the Foreign Ministry recommended that Britain trim its overseas establishments in keeping with the country's true position in world affairs. The report was, naturally, widely criticized and there is no guarantee that Callaghan will accept its suggestions but the meaning of the report was not lost on the public: Britain simply is not the ranking power it was a generation ago, let alone a century ago, and it is wasteful for a minor power to cloak itself in the garments of a world leader.

It may be that the present-day loss of prestige accounts for the nearly compulsive interest in the British past, and most particularly in the days of World War II. It is hard to be in London for any time without being reminded at some point of the Battle of Britain or the heroism of that generation of Britons. The Imperial War Museum, with its display of Spitfires and V-2s, is far more popular with native Britons than with foreign tourists. The Battle of Britain seems to have become a focal point of British national pride, a combination of Valley Forge and Gettysburg that serves to remind the British of better days and of the achievements that once were theirs.

In present day Britain the mood is far less heroic. The nation is sadly lacking in the unity that characterized the Autumn of 1940, and the enemy is less easily identified. In this particular battle, with the stakes no less crucial, the outcome is by no means certain.

*Martin A. Jackson teaches history and film at the State University of New York Maritime College. He has recently returned from a visit to Great Britain.*



# IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

## Human rights and the Letelier-Moffitt murders

One year ago this week, on September 21st, Orlando Letelier, former Chilean Ambassador to the U.S. and a Cabinet minister, and a young American associate at the Trans-National Institute, Ronni Karpen Moffitt, were murdered when a bomb on the underside of Letelier's car exploded as they drove through the Embassy Row section of Washington, D.C. Government officials and non-governmental investigators have concluded that DINA, the secret police of Gen. Augusto Pinochet, head of Chile's military junta, planned, financed and recruited CIA-trained Cuban exiles

to carry out the Letelier-Moffitt assassinations. Yet a year later there have been no arrests or indictments.

Quite the opposite. Immediately after the murders, the FBI or the local police leaked the contents of Letelier's briefcase to right wing journalists who tried to smear the dead man as a Cuban agent by distorting the contents of correspondence found in it. More recently, despite Carter administration rhetoric about the protection of human rights, State Department official Terrence Todman visited Chile and accepted at face value the assurances of Pinochet that the junta

was restoring political rights and stopping its campaign of terror against those seeking political and civil liberties. Pinochet's change of name for his secret police, from DINA to Central Nacional de Informacion, was given widespread attention and also taken as a sign that Chile would soon no longer be a "bad" dictatorship, but just another of the normal dictatorships that the American government subsidizes in its quest for freedom.

As long as the Letelier and Moffitt murders go unpunished, the groups of killers trained by the CIA and used by

Pinochet can strike with impunity in the U.S. and elsewhere. Because the Department of Justice, the FBI and District of Columbia police have shown little progress in solving this crime, a special prosecutor should be appointed to complete the investigation. In addition, a thorough congressional investigation into the illegal activities of foreign secret police agencies in the U.S. is in order. The public must know the extent of foreign-sponsored terrorist and other illegal activities in our country, including the activities of CIA-trained Cuban exiles. Human rights begin at home.

## Solar electricity: the suppressed alternative

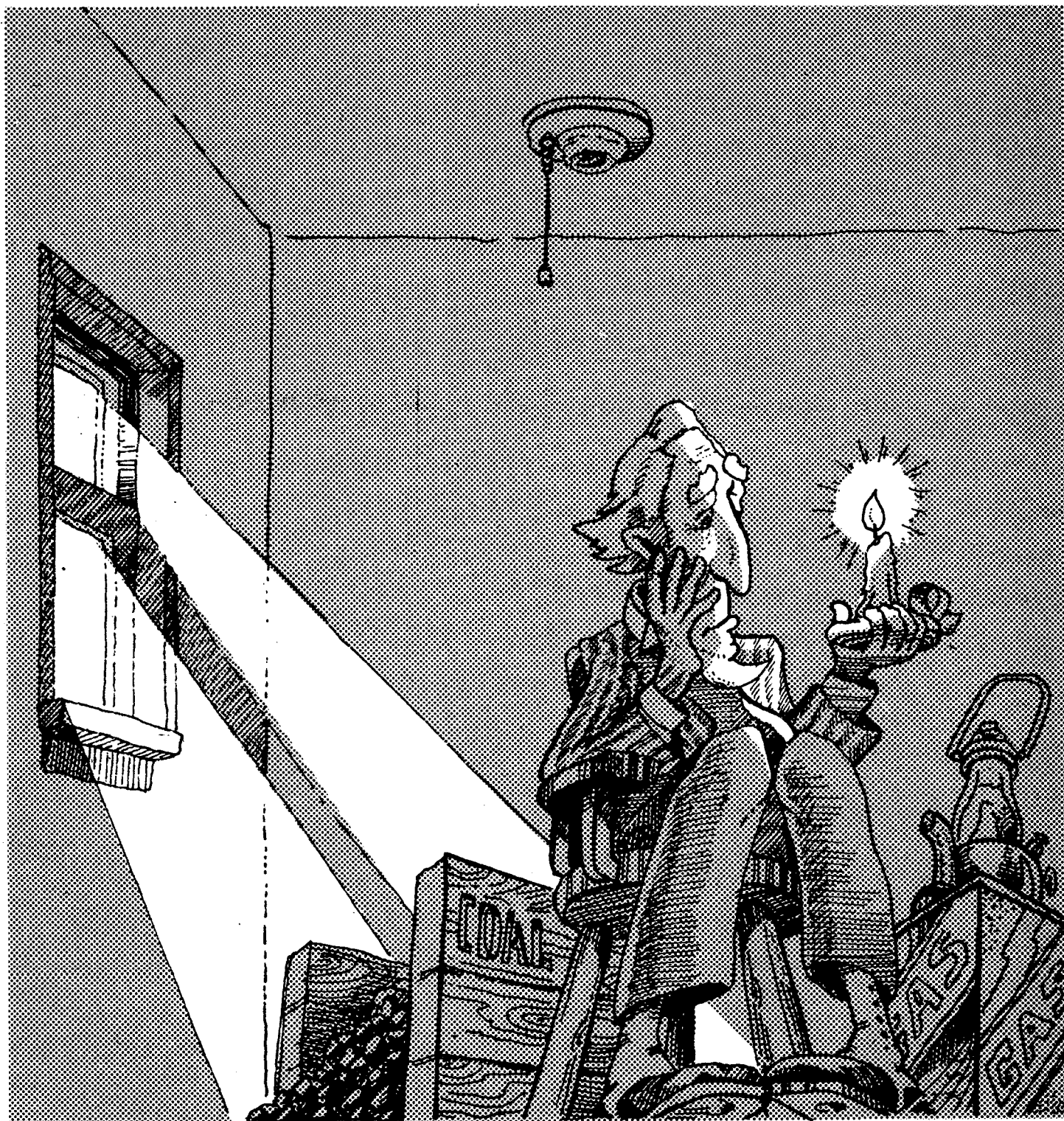
Most Americans do not believe that there is an energy shortage. According to Administration propagandists and most media commentators, this is a deplorable situation. But it seems to us that it is more accurate to see it as a reflection of the intelligence and innate shrewdness of the American people. After all, why should we all make sacrifices on the altar of energy when President Carter's emergency program cannot effect any meaningful reduction in the use of oil and gas, but only increased costs to the consumer and gigantic subsidies for the major oil companies?

We've noted before that any serious attempt to reduce the consumption of oil would have to start with substantial subsidies to mass transit, both urban and interurban, and a reduction in subsidies to the automobile industry. Carter's proposals include virtually nothing for mass transit, except for a little pious exhortation. While the Administration has announced cutbacks in funds for city mass transit systems, Secretary of Transportation Brock Adams has approved both a West Side interstate highway in New York and just last week the controversial crosstown highway in Chicago. So much for encouraging people to find alternatives to the automobile.

On the production side, the Carter proposals are equally favorable to the oil companies and equally inconsiderate of the public welfare. Higher prices for oil in the Carter program will not restrict national consumption, but will subsidize the energy companies, either directly through the raising of regulated prices for natural gas and oil, or indirectly through government subsidies for the development of coal (\$500 million alone in fiscal 1977) and nuclear research and development (\$2 billion in continuing subsidies). The most obvious, and in the long run the most promising sources of power because they are renewable—solar, wind and tidal power—have been virtually ignored. Carter's plan originally provided that a miniscule 1.5 percent of the next decade's increased energy needs would be met by solar energy. This has been revised downward to 1 percent.

From the viewpoint of the energy corporations, of course, solar or wind power would be a loss, since it would be difficult to find a way to charge people for sunlight or wind. And even from the point of view of utility companies solar heating and solar or wind power are risky because they involve technologies that are probably more suited to small, decentralized units that could be owned and operated by individual home owners and other consumers than to the increasingly large coal fired or nuclear generators that the utility monopolies find most profitable.

Thus, it should be no surprise that the major corporations have played down solar energy, and, as Sen. Gary Hart (D.



Col.) and Rep. Richard Ottinger (D. N.Y.) charged last year, that they misinform the public about the current status and future prospects of solar energy. Hart and Ottinger criticized Exxon for exaggerating the cost of solar heating and generating units in an advertisement that listed the price of a solar water heating unit at \$2,000, when one of Exxon's own subsidiaries marketed such units at half the price.

But a recent report of the Federal Energy Administration, not yet officially released, says that solar electrical generation is already roughly competitive in price with small (1.5 kw) gasoline driven generators, and that with mass production of photovoltaic cells (solar electrical generating cells), solar generators would be price competitive

for widespread residential use by the early 1980s. The study, conducted by the BDM Corp. of Arlington, Va., has found that a \$400 million program in which the government would replace 20 percent of the gasoline driven electric power generators now in use by the Defense Department would save \$500 million in the next five years. This plan would also bring the cost of photovoltaic cells down from \$10-\$30 per peak watt to \$.75 per peak watt by making it feasible to produce the now hand-crafted cells by automated machinery. According to ecologist Barry Commoner, the Carter administration is in no hurry to release the report because "it completely flies in the face of what they've been saying about solar potential." But Commoner estimates that the report

shows a potential for solar electricity to provide as much as 15 percent of the nation's total electric power, if the plan is vigorously pursued.

The present need, if solar energy is to be fully and rapidly developed is twofold: to provide sufficient investment in the manufacture of generating cells to make them competitive with current methods of generating electricity; and to provide public funding, through a public bank like the one proposed by SolarCal advocates in California and in the Solar Energy Development Bank bill (H.R. 7800), introduced into the House on June 15, by Rep. Stephen L. Neal (D. N.C.), so that individuals and small businesses and other organizations will be able to utilize the available technology.



# Letters

## Public drunks? No tanks!

Editor:

Its really appalling to read (ITT, Aug. 31) that a major city such as L.A. is still in the 18th century regarding the treatment of public inebriates. Since 1971 I have worked in three alcohol detoxification centers that operated on "medical" and "non-medical" (drug aided and drug free withdrawal) models. I can state categorically that:

1. They are more humane than jails. Any detox. client will tell you that.
2. The detox. approach is simply more intelligent and practical than incarceration. Alcoholics are treated for their affliction and offered the opportunity to continue treatment elsewhere.
3. Detoxification is cheaper than incarceration. Any detox. center or the municipality or police district in which it is located can supply the relevant statistics. When I was at the Boston Alcohol Detoxification project in 1971-1973 the arrest rate for public intoxication in Police District 4 (the notorious South End Skid Row area) was cut by 80%.

Furthermore, the indirect savings accrued when various individuals with long arrest records achieve extended periods of sobriety is very large.

Ed Davis must indeed be "Crazy." Or perhaps he's just forgotten what its like to walk a beat or drive patrol. Every cop I've ever met in Boston and Denver was glad to have us take care of people they knew they or jail could not help.

To me this is not an issue of legalisms and constitutionality. Bob Sundance surely knows this and is using the law as a lever. May he move a lot of old rockheads.

—Howard Herunstadt  
Denver, Colo.

## Muddleheaded liberals

Editor:

As a subscriber and regular reader of ITT I have finally been moved by your recent editorial "Suppression can be a two edged sword" (ITT, Sept. 7) to share with you some observations about the paper.

Your editorials seem to represent the work of muddleheaded liberals trying to take the middle (uncommitted) road and are totally lacking in analysis expected of a "leading left publication." Your attempt to justify ACLU's defense of the Nazi Party and the KKK is so incredibly naive that it would be laughable were it not extremely dangerous.

It is clear that the right of people to engage in unpopular and anti-government activities has never been "free" and unrestricted and that laws and ordinances exist and are selectively enforced, usually against the left. You admit that the Nazis and the KKK "advocate injury and murder of people they hate," yet you support their "freedom" to organize, demonstrate and march with the stated purpose of violating other people's basic rights.

The Skokie ordinance forbidding demonstrations that "will incite violence, hatred, abuse, or hostility toward a person or group of persons by reason of or reference to religious, racial, ethnic or national affiliation" by no stretch of the imagination applies to an "open housing demonstration" or any other progressive action which are all issue oriented and do not violate other people's human rights. Police action against such activities are common and do not require legal sanction. A sure first step toward a police state is to legitimize the violence of the right.

The logic behind the ACLU defense invariably leads to the absurdity of blaming the victim (blacks, jews, etc.) for the crime (why are you so weak?).

Your lack of sensitivity to the dangers of racism, chauvinism and fascism indicates your inability to clearly see the major issues that confront us. This will inevitably lead to more muddled editorials and the question of: whose side are you on?

—Tanja Winter  
La Jolla, Calif.

*Editor's reply: Tanja Winter distorts our view. We wrote, "It is too easy to forget that the ACLU is not defending the Nazis [for the Klan], but basic civil liberties against dangerous . . . if well intentioned . . . city ordinances whose oppressive grasp . . . might reach all other groups not in favor with . . . 'public opinion.' "The historical record proves that this is far from naive.*

*Winter also muddles the distinction between sustaining rights and preventing or punishing wrongs. The editorial stated that freedom of speech and assembly also requires that these rights not be used "as a mask for depriving others of civil liberties, safety of their persons or their lives. If the Nazis . . . avail themselves of rights in order to assault the persons or rights of others, to incite unlawful acts or murder, they should be prosecuted under the existing laws. And if government will not enforce these laws, people will justifiably defend themselves and their rights in whatever manner they deem appropriate."*

*The editorial also specifically argued that the defense of civil liberties required not only opposition to oppressive government measures but also "with equal vigor" the demand for "police protection against assault on the rights and persons of others, and for prompt arrest and prosecution for such assaults."*

*The muddleheadedness here lies in not realizing that the defense of civil liberties has nothing to do with defending wrongs or crimes and everything to do with combatting them.*

## The IWW replies

Editor:

In your editorial supporting ACLU defense of free speech even for totalitarians (a position the IWW has always taken) you misinform your readers when you write: "Consider the IWW, which often advocated sabotage in public speeches that were followed on occasion by bombings."

Around 1912 to 1916 individual members of the IWW did write and speak in favor of sabotage, describing it as taking such forms as slow down, work to rule, telling unfavorable truths about products, misdirecting shipment of scab products, etc.

Though your use of "which" says so, the IWW as an organization did not advocate sabotage even in this sense, feeling it tended to give workers the illusion that they could redress their grievances by individual action, when organization was needed. Military usage of the term sabotage during W.W. I gave it a connotation of destruction that led the IWW officially 58 years ago to advise members against using the term. Then you slip in some bombs by a journalistic device that implies IWW responsibility without putting yourself out on the limb of saying so. From its start in 1905 the IWW has relied on building a mutual understanding among working people, not on bombs or emery dust, and has repeatedly said such nonsense harms the working class.

—Fred Thompson  
Chicago

*Editor's note. We did not mean to imply that the IWW relied on violence or sabotage. On the contrary, despite the often violent rhetoric of IWW organizers, the union's tactics were almost always peaceful. Nevertheless, on occasion, as in Butte in 1914, IWW rhetoric about sabotage was followed by dynamiting. That this was probably done by agents provocateur does not change our point.*

## She Dunn us wrong

Editor:

Mary Dunn's letter (ITT, Sept. 14) about David Moberg's NAM convention story reads more like someone with an axe to grind than someone diligently in pursuit of the truth. Dunn is right that the planning committee for the national socialist feminist conference in 1975 included a number of other groups—all women's unions—in addition to NAM. However, Dunn fails to mention that NAM initiated the conference. Our conception of the conference at the NAM national convention in 1974, was that it should involve as many women's groups as possible. The conference was not intended to be a NAM front or simply to push our own ideas or role.

Second, Moberg did not say that the conference was for women who "shared NAM's politics" as Dunn claims. We have political views on a range of questions that were not conceived of as a framework for the conference. However, the principles of unity drawn up for the conference were in line with NAM's view of socialist feminism. I don't believe there is anything dishonest in Moberg's phrasing on that point.

The NAM convention included many women who have been active in the women's movement, in organizing women, and in the lesbian movement. Everyone who participated—including Holly Near—commented on the central role that women, feminism, and gay liberation played. Dunn's snide comment about Near's participation is an insult to all of them.

—Judy MacLean  
NAM Organizational Secretary

## The AFT Convention in another light

Editor:

Your article on the 61st annual convention of the AFT (ITT, Aug. 10) was both more and less than is needed to understand the internal dynamics of the union. It gave more of Lois Weiner's personal opinions than are useful, but less detail of the actual struggles at the convention than is necessary for decent reporting. Furthermore, the red-baiting of United Action Caucus was in poor taste and wrong.

You fail to mention that the convention did not "split over racial lines." In fact, it split nationally between the enormous New York State United Teachers (NYSUT) vote and the rest of the country! Had Shanker not controlled the 173,000 vote New York bloc he would have lost on Bakke. New York carried Shanker's Bakke position, but he lost Washington, D.C., Chicago, Detroit, most of Philadelphia and the west. The majority of those who voted against Shanker's position were white, since black teachers are still woefully underrepresented in the AFT. The Illinois delegation, a majority of which was white, voted by more than 90 percent against Shanker.

Briefly, Shanker lost everything west of New York and south of New Jersey. That is worth mentioning if the purpose is to inform people of the dynamics of the AFT.

Your article failed to mention that Shanker had scheduled Irving Brown, a CIA operative and "Meany's Man in Europe," to speak at the "Labor Education Luncheon." A boycott of Brown organized jointly by the Black Caucus and the United Action Caucus dropped the Brown luncheon's attendance from an expected 1,000 to less than 200. The turnout was so small that Shanker had to change the luncheon's location to a smaller ballroom. Otherwise they would have been further embarrassed.

Both Irving Brown and ITT used the same ploy to deal with the opposition: red baiting. The United Action Caucus is not the Communist Party's caucus in the AFT. UAC, both open and demo-

cratic, includes people at all levels of its membership and leadership who have varying political and social views. We are united behind a program and against red-baiting, which is one of the main ways the Shankers and Browns keep unions like ours in their pockets.

Another item that you failed to address was the importance of the Black Caucus this year. It is impossible for anyone who was at the convention in Boston not to have noticed that the Black Caucus was the cutting edge of most of the progressive moves against Shanker. Not to mention its existence was a disservice to your readers.

By the way, the resolution on Elvis (see below) was not introduced by UAC, but by a UAC member on the floor. Part of its purpose was to break through Shanker's stodgy inanity.

—George N. Schmidt  
Member, UAC Board; Chairman, Substitutes  
United for Better Schools, Chicago; Member,  
Chicago Teachers Union

## The Elvis Resolution:

Whereas, the youth of America, caught in the throes of McCarthyism and the depths of the Cold War, were awakened by the throbbing of the rock guitar, and

Whereas, the same anti-education forces that twenty years later were to burn school books in West Virginia and fight busing in the north tried to keep him from appearing below the waist on the Ed Sullivan Show, and

Whereas, an entire generation of American white folks were first burst from their up-tight gestalts by his music, and

Whereas, it is seldom in a lifetime that Americans can truly say, "The King is Dead"

Be it therefore resolved that the American Federation of Teachers support the naming of American public schools after Elvis Presley, and

Be it further resolved that the American Federation of Teachers use its enormous influence in the Congress of the United States to have Elvis Presley's birthday declared a national holiday on which schools are closed, and

Be it further resolved that the president of the American Federation of Teachers declare a moment of silence each year at the Federation's national convention at the moment of Elvis' passing.

Be it finally resolved that each convention of the federation open with the new federation "song," a medley of "Love Me Tender," "Heartbreak Hotel," and "Don't Be Cruel."

## Sustenance makes the mind grow sharper

Editor:

Enclosed is my check for another year's subscription. Subscribing to *In These Times* was one of the best things I did when I moved to eastern Montana. The hills and sky here are good medicine, but I often feel politically isolated and in need of some strength and reassurance about my beliefs and ideals.

Getting *In These Times* keeps me thinking. So much of what you deal with relates to the things I encounter here. Between you and our Montana *Borrowed Times* there's sustenance that enables me to be more active politically.

—Marie A. Root  
Miles City, Mont.

More letters on page 17.

*Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.*



Jean-Pierre Cot

# French left faces tough campaign says member of the National Assembly

"French left falters under pressure," Diana Johnstone thus described the situation of the French Left in *ITT* (July 6). It is true that the left had it too good in recent years. Ever since the signatures of the Common program by the Socialists, Communists, and the "radicals" (who represent the moderate wing of the left in France), the left has been gaining in votes and influence. After having barely missed victory in the 1974 Presidential election, the left won the Local elections in 1976 and 1977. It is persistently ahead in the polls.

Those who thought that situation could carry the left smoothly into power in 1978 badly misjudged the situation. The conservative coalition in power since 1958 had repeatedly denied the opposition any right to power as long as Communists were involved. The conservatives have too much to lose politically, and too many economic benefits dependent on its hold on the State.

French capitalism has thrived through the period thanks to an incredibly conservative social policy. The differential among salaries has grown larger in the last twenty years. Protection against accident and illness has become less effective. Old age pensions are still far from adequate. The tax system is one of the best in the world—for capital earnings—and one of the most severe for the workers, with sales taxes bearing the burden and very light income taxes.

All that is questioned today by the French left, and would be changed by a victory in 1978. A faction of the conservatives understands the difficulty and has tried with Giscard d'Estaing to pro-

***The ambiguities of the Common Program, signed in 1972 in quite a different situation, must be ironed out. In five years the economic picture has changed a great deal and the political forces have been modified.***

mote certain reforms. It has failed. For instance, the government was unable to get a relatively moderate capital gains tax through Parliament. The poor substitute that was voted has since been repealed. And French capitalists are turning more towards Chirac, the strong arm within the Right.

The international stakes are just as important. A victory of the United Left in France will have historical significance. France is a more powerful and better organized country than Portugal, Italy or Chile. Its weight, political, economic and strategic, is important. The route set by the United Left will be considered with interest by progressives throughout the world. But the example will also be examined closely by all the conservative forces. No one can afford an error in such circumstances. That is the reason why the Socialist Party has been taking pains to explain the danger of any counter productive reaction among its partners, among which the U.S. is not the least important.

The temptation is great for international capitalism to prevent a victory of the Left, rather than cope with the tricky problems that would rise out of

that victory. The American columnist, Joseph Kraft has recently advised the Carter administration to help Giscard out of his mess. The French left does not fear foreign intervention, which would probably create a favorable reaction for it. But such an attitude would certainly complicate future relations in the event of a left victory.

This context is necessary to understand the attitude of the French Left under growing pressure. We must iron out the ambiguities of the Common Program, signed in 1972 in quite a different setting. In these five years, the economic picture has changed a great deal. The political forces of the parties within the left have been modified, with the Socialist Party grasping the upper hand today (polls give us somewhat over 30 percent of the vote, vis a vis 20 percent to the Communists, while the two parties were at par in the 1973 election). The actualization (bringing up to date) of the Common Program undertaken this summer, is not a simple matter. Each Party presses for its own views. Differences of opinion still exist on the extent of nationalization, the short-term economic and social policies,



the chapter on disarmament and defense. They should be overcome by mid-September, at the summit meeting of Mitterrand, George Marchais, and Robert Fabre.

The right is obviously taking advantage of this situation to shield its own internal divergences (the strife between Giscard and Chirac has been very severe these last months). But, with a brand new Common Program, the left will have a programmatic basis for its campaign that the right has been incapable of defeating. The mere fact that the political debate in France is centered on the Program of the left—and not on that of the Government, as the Mitterrand-Barre television appearance showed—is an important political success for the left.

The campaign will be a tough one. As positions harden, the danger of violence develops. A certain part of the French right would love to create insecurity throughout the country, so as to repeat the 1968 elections, which gave a massive vote to the Gaullists, in reaction against the massive strikes of the spring. The nuclear protest marches may create such an opportunity. But all the organized Left (parties and unions alike) are wary of the situation and will not let it develop, much to the disappointment of certain leftist splinter groups.

Whatever the outcome of the battle, the French Left does need comprehension and solidarity throughout the world. . . more than back-seat driving.

*Jean-Pierre Cot is a member of the French National Assembly and of the Executive Bureau of the Socialist Party of France.*

Alvah Bessie

## Considered Opinion

# Richard Nixon won't even fade away

What did we do to deserve Richard Nixon?

How did it happen that we, the people of the United States, twice elected to the highest office it is in our power to confer, a liar, a crook, an unprincipled operator backed by men of power and money, a politician with no scruples, no sense of humor, an uptight personality ruled more by hatred than the Quaker principles on which he was raised and which he attempted to exploit as he has exploited every idea, every personality, every situation and every opportunity to get for himself the money and power of his backers?

It isn't as though these are new and stunning revelations; anyone who has observed the U.S. political scene since 1946, when the man first ran for Congress, has known these things about him. Every reporter assigned to his many campaigns for the House of Representatives, the Senate, the Vice-Presidency, the Governorship of California and the Presidency, has known and spoken (off the record) about the sort of man he was from the start: cold, hungry, shifty and arrogant; aggressive and unprepossessing, motivated only by what he wanted and to hell with anything or anybody in the way.

This was, is and always will be Richard Milhous Nixon, a kid from "the wrong side of the tracks" in the middle-class Orange County slum named after a bad poet: John Greenleaf Whittier.

He got into Congress by smearing a man named Jerry Voorhis, as conservative an anti-Communist as they came in those days. He called—no, he implied or "let it be known," or hinted that Voor-

***How did he do it? How did we let him do it? There was plenty of reason to know.***

his was sympathetic to "Red" ideas. That ended the political career of an honest California Congressman.

He slid into the Senate by defeating Helen Gahagan—and letting it be known, or hinting, or implying that Gahagan and her well-known actor-husband, Melvyn Douglas, were "pinkos." In Nixon's book they were dangerous radicals because they were died-in-the-wool American liberals. They were on the side of the underdog in public and private life. They supported the Spanish Republic in its death-struggle with Franco when the Committee on which Nixon later made his name openly supported fascism. They supported the people that Committee smeared and got fired and blacklisted from the moving picture, television, radio, newspaper and publishing industries between 1947 and 1951.

Nixon rose to "fame" on that Committee with the help of an obvious psychopath named Whittaker Chambers, who hid some old microfilms of irrelevant government documents in an empty pumpkin on his farm (!)—and miraculously produced them to destroy the distinguished career of Alger Hiss, who was just as certainly the victim of frameup as were Ethel and Julius Rosenberg who were convicted of giving "the secret of the Atom Bomb" to the U.S.S.R. The fact that Harold Urey, one of the men who had built it, testified that there was no secret at all, did not save their lives.

But Nixon's activities helped to execute them as surely as did his boss, Dwight ("That's my boy!") Eisenhower, who refused to stay their execution or grant the clemency a later Republican President lavished on the self-condemned Nixon.

Nationwide reaction to the TV show that netted Nixon \$600,000 plus ten percent of the profits, and which he hopes will spark the sales of his \$2,000,000 "autobiography" was universally negative. People prominent on the Watergate Committee said he was still covering up; others asked why, if Nixon had been falsely accused, had he waited for three years—and a million dollars—to "answer" such false accusations.

The woman and man in the street used such words as: liar, crazy, sick, contrived, wouldn't tell the truth, confused, contradicts himself, the same old lies, a teaser for his book. The newspapers collated what he had told Frost with the actual records of the Watergate investigation and made the same sordid diagnosis.

The *San Francisco Chronicle* of May 6th said, "... he showed himself still the self-serving, unrepentant Nixon, still unwilling to acknowledge the criminality of conduct that has disgraced him beyond any other President . . . evasive and shifty . . . the unindicted (but since pardoned) co-conspirator of the Watergate coverup conspiracy, still insisting he

was not guilty of obstructing justice when the tapes of his own voice convict him of it."

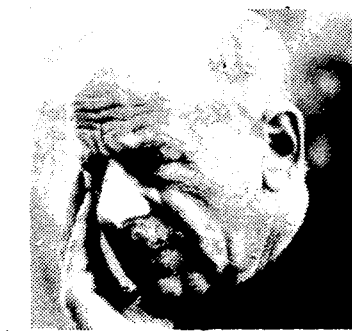
The question remains: How did he do it? How did we let him do it? And the answers speak to our qualities as a people, our good qualities and our bad:

We do not really believe that "Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." We are inclined to think people are honest until they are proved crooked; to see the best in people until we are forced to see the worst; to believe what they say about themselves and each other; and what the newspapers, radio, television and the other media say: and all these media are controlled by men and women who are also seeking money—and power.

On our bad side: we become cynical too easily; we are disillusioned with politics and say, "To hell with it." We decide all politicians are crooks and refuse to participate in the democratic process. We decide that since everybody is out for himself and the devil take the hindmost, we will do the same: "I'll get mine, Jack, and—fuck you!" We swallow the glib promises of a man who grins and says, "I'll never lie to you."

We have a long way to go, simply to realize that these good and bad qualities tend to cancel each other out and leave us with both feet firmly planted in mid-air. So it is easy for short-change artists to slip through our guard and usurp the power that is rightfully ours.

*Alvah Bessie is a novelist, critic and screenwriter who has published seven volumes of fiction and nonfiction, was involved in the Spanish Civil War as a soldier of the Republic and was a member of The Hollywood 10.*





# DIALOG

## Toward a socialist redefinition of patriotism: A proposal

Patriotism has gotten a bad name in the United States. Distorted, perverted and misused for so long by right-wing reactionaries, strike-breakers and labor haters, militarists, chauvinists and assorted scoundrels out for a fast buck, its image today evokes cynicism from the average American, and outright ridicule or hostility from the politically aware.

Events of recent years have reinforced in the popular consciousness the validity of Samuel Johnson's observation that "Patriotism is the last refuge of a scoundrel." How could intelligent Americans feel otherwise after listening to Spiro Agnew, or observing the lapel-flags of the Nixon Water-gaters and the flag-waving jingoism of professional red-hunters like Martin Dies or J. Parnell Thomas? Millions of anti-Vietnam-War activists still recall with understandable disgust the nightmarish "patriotism" that was the ultimate rationale for the inflated military budgets and the nuclear arms race.

Yet, the imperatives of the struggle for a genuinely democratic foreign policy for our country, as well as for democratic, humanist solutions to domestic problems, demand a thorough re-examination of patriotism.

Those who truly love this land and its peoples, and who seek to transform American society to eliminate injustice, inequality, racism and poverty, need to step back from their prevailing assumptions and search for new solutions to the problem of winning the hearts and minds of the American people. They need to put forward a rationale for social change based on our own history, experiences and traditions, and especially on the high principles of the founding fathers and those after them who carried on the struggles for freedom and social justice.

### Patriotism a powerful force.

Despite the Nixons, the Agnews and the rest, patriotism remains a powerful sentiment, a force capable of moving and inspiring vast masses of the American population. The shrewdest and most successful politicians know this. In President Carter's speech on the energy crisis, he said that the fight for conservation of energy was "the moral equivalent of war" and would demand many patriotic sacrifices. (Not too surprisingly, Carter made it clear that such patriotic devotion to the welfare of the country was not expected of the moguls of the energy industry, who would have to be motivated by proper "incentives.")

The power of patriotic sentiment in our country derives from the great humanist-revolutionary-democratic American heritage bequeathed us by Thomas Jefferson, Thomas Paine, Samuel Adams, Benjamin Rush, Abraham Lincoln, Walt Whitman, Henry Thoreau, William Lloyd Garrison, John Brown, Lucy Stone, Sojourner Truth, Nat Turner, Mark Twain, W.E.B. DuBois, Eugene Victor Debs, Mother Jones, A.J. Muste and a great host of unsung heroes and heroines of the struggles for freedom and social justice.

### The true American heritage

Those men and women inscribed on their banners the slogans that have in-

spired struggles for social justice not only for the 200 year history of our own country, but also throughout the world: human equality; respect for the judgment of the common people; distrust of the powerful and the privileged; allegiance to freedom of expression and the right of self-determination; cooperative enterprise; government of the people, by the people, and for the people; conscience above property and institutions; sympathetic interest in the new, the untried, the unexplored.

### Counterfeit patriotism

Little wonder then that exploiters of people and despoilers and plunderers of the land, militarists, racists and bigots have tried to hide this heritage. Little wonder that they have substituted a counterfeit patriotism that equates patriotism with blind and unquestioning obedience to the government; with hysterical anti-communism and red-baiting; with glorification of military victories and military conquest; with contempt for working people, minorities and especially for the poor and the unemployed (for their supposed inability to "make it" under the "free enterprise system"); with awe and respect for the rich and powerful; with a concern about the "excesses" of democracy, about "pampering" the poor and the handicapped; with making a ritual fetish of the flag and the national anthem; with suspicion and hostility toward any kind of international cooperation except military alliances against a mythical "communist menace"; with a chauvinist contempt for foreign cultures and traditions.

To redefine the meaning of patriotism for the American people, the Left needs to establish a new center for the redefinition of patriotism. Such a Center could develop popular consciousness of the heritage of struggles for freedom and social and economic justice; redefine the national interest in terms of the welfare and security of the American people; inspire and encourage movements for the restructuring of institutions in the service of the people and for the abolition of institutionalized injustice, exploitation, oppression and discrimination.

Jeremy Rifkin (a sponsor of *ITT*) performed a remarkable service for the left with his essay "The Red, White & Blue Left," and with the Peoples Bicentennial Commission, which he organized. The PBC attracted the attention of literally millions of Americans and acquainted them with the idea of an alternative definition of Americanism and patriotism. Regrettably, the PBC did not follow up its excellent propaganda work with the building of a movement, and it was dissolved following the bicentennial day.

Socialists can and must play an important role in redefining the concept of patriotism; they should by example prove that those who are working to transform American society are the finest, most committed patriots; that capitalism is not synonymous with Americanism; that the true inheritors of the tradition of the radical founding fathers are the democratic socialists of today; that to achieve the promise of the Declaration of Independence and the Bill of Rights, and to make them a reality for every American, it will be necessary to reorganize the socio-economic system.

The logical location for a center for an alternative patriotism is Chicago, for the same reason that the publishers of *ITT* chose it as their base, and an effort is currently being made in the Chicago area to set up such a center. Among those currently involved in the project as sponsors are: Dr. Quentin Young, founder of the Medical

Committee for Human Rights; Dr. Harold Quigley, leader of the Ethical Humanist Society; Clem Balanoff of Steel Workers Fight Back; Sister Gabriel Herber of the Alliance to End Repression; Leo Tannenbaum, artist; Sid Lens, labor leader, Peace activist and author; William Adelman, Professor of Labor History, Circle Campus University of Illinois; Dr. Margaret Burroughs, Director of the Du Sable Museum of Afro-American History; Erwin A. Salk, businessman; Milton Cohen, Jewish Council of Urban Affairs; Patrick Gorman, president, Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen; Leroy Wolins, Veterans for Peace; John Rossen, retired businessman. (Organizations listed for identification only.)

Among the projects being planned at present are:

1. Organization of a lecture bureau, forums, discussions.
2. Patriotic commemorations for important dates and events in American labor, civil rights history, and the like.
3. Awards and recognition to those present-day patriots who in their special fields of endeavor (Labor, Peace, Education, Housing, Gray Liberation, Women's and Gay Liberation, Prison Reform, Health, Civil Rights, Consumer Protection, Environment) make outstanding contributions to the welfare of the American people.
4. Publication of a regular bulletin or newsletter, as well as pamphlets, tracts and booklets dealing with crucial issues of foreign and domestic policies and discussing the nature of genuinely patriotic, humanist and democratic solutions.

Undertaking and/or giving support to research and study in relation to the objectives of the association, and in particular to a definition of the true national interest in the solution of our country's problems.

Organizations and individuals interested in participating in the organization of the Center are urged to write to:  
New Patriot Alliance, 2440 N. Lincoln, Chicago 60614, or call (312) 493-0312.

—John Rossen  
Chicago

## More Letters

Continued from page 15.

### Organizer training schools

Editor:

Your recent article on organizer training schools was a disappointment. It gave no real information about the quality of the insights or the effectiveness of the teaching that goes on at any of the schools. *In These Times* ought to be sensitive to and critical of these aspects because you have stated that your overriding concern is how to organize the masses.

As an alumna of the Midwest Academy, I know from experience that it is a place where serious intellectual quality has been achieved. It has taught several hundred of the best organizers in the country. In fact, the Midwest Academy is one of the most significant progressive forces in the country today. Unfortunately, your article neglected to mention or discuss this important fact.

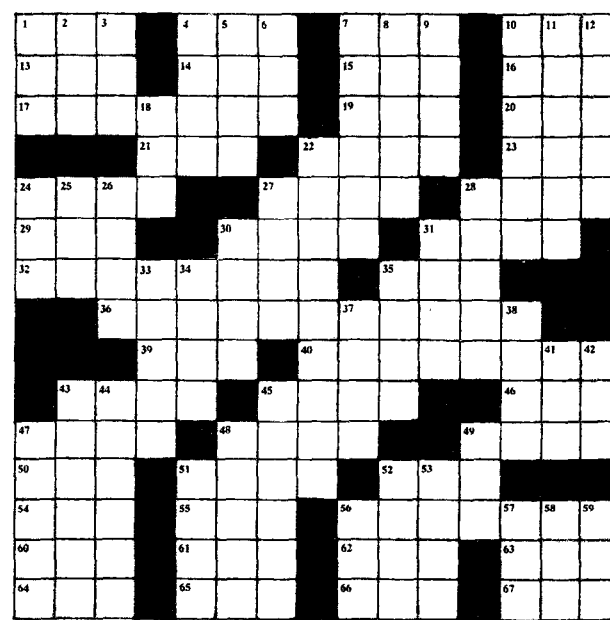
—Anne Ladky  
Chicago

### Correction

The drawing for "Pablo Neruda: Poet of Peace and Revolution," which appeared in the Sept. 14-20 issue of *In These Times* was improperly credited. It should have been credited to the Chile Solidarity Group, 156 Fifth Ave., New York City, 10010.

## Dynamic Duo's

By David Mermelstein



### Across:

- 1 \_\_\_\_\_ and Jane
- 4 Wartime agency
- 7 Solidify
- 10 Soho instrument
- 13 South of Wash.
- 14 Ewe's counterpart
- 15 Yellow Bugle
- 16 Chou En-\_\_\_\_\_
- 17 \_\_\_\_\_ and Taylor
- 19 Steal (Eng. dialect)
- 20 Bergman's ex
- 21 Pub drink
- 22 Unit of work or energy: abbr., in physics
- 23 Literary initials
- 24 Mimicked
- 27 \_\_\_\_\_ de Vincennes
- 28 At that time
- 29 Before sun
- 30 Alec Guinness, et al
- 31 Inspired fear or dread
- 32 Distributed proportionately
- 35 \_\_\_\_\_ potato, two...
- 36 "Hounded" from office
- 39 Vietnam \_\_\_\_\_
- 40 Enlargement
- 43 Scout org., et al
- 45 Portend
- 46 Something cast
- 47 Dish
- 48 \_\_\_\_\_ vault
- 49 Assist
- 50 Metric surface measure
- 51 Julia Ward or Elias
- 52 Architect's org.
- 54 Kind of grass
- 55 Piercing instrument
- 56 Cohn \_\_\_\_\_, McCarthy's henchmen
- 60 Curved tool
- 61 Native American
- 62 Stinger
- 63 Park and Moon's country: abbr.
- 64 Michel \_\_\_\_\_, executed in 1815 for treason
- 65 Outmoded form of address
- 66 Rod used by Torah reader
- 67 French season

### Down:

- 1 Haul
- 2 Openings
- 3 Ott or Torme
- 4 Ph.D. exam
- 5 Tennis term for rapidity
- 6 French soul
- 7 Collaborating radical economists, with 45 down
- 8 Some vote for the lesser of two of these
- 9 Kind of chops
- 10 "\_\_\_\_\_ world's a..."
- 11 What the poker player did
- 12 Cloward's associate
- 18 Young man
- 22 Losing ticket
- 24 Cleopatra's killer
- 25 Between birdie and bogie
- 26 Collar
- 27 Tres \_\_\_\_\_
- 28 Bird noise
- 30 Young steer: prov. Eng.
- 31 \_\_\_\_\_ and the King of Siam
- 33 Opponent
- 34 Lops off
- 35 Look at amorously
- 37 Official's assistant
- 38 Far's companion
- 41 Exxon's product
- 42 Followed "War Communism": abbr.
- 43 Chemical compound
- 44 Baran and \_\_\_\_\_ or Huberman and \_\_\_\_\_
- 45 See 7 down
- 48 What political science studies
- 49 Intersection of triumph
- 51 Injury
- 52 Cruising
- 53 \_\_\_\_\_ tea
- 56 By \_\_\_\_\_ (presently)
- 57 Wrath
- 58 Negational adverb
- 59 Squeak by (with out)



# Teamsters

Continued from page 3

Many Teamster activists are also convinced that existing union officials were involved in the disposal of his body.

## Revelations about Fitzsimmons.

The public posture of top Teamster officers in the Fitzsimmons regime has also been eroded by widespread revelations of organized crime connections and wholesale looting of the union's pension and health funds. In April Fitzsimmons and other union trustees of the Central States Pension Fund, long under investigation by the federal government for questionable loans, were forced to resign under threat of lawsuits.

As the control of the fund supposedly passed to "independent" managers, speculation arose that Fitzsimmons might voluntarily resign. Instead, the union launched a nationwide public relations campaign, replete with full-page newspaper ads that attacked the "unholy alliance of political midgets, some lying media gossip peddlers and a few self-appointed labor 'reformers' whose secret motives are destructive and un-American..."

The Labor department announced July 18 that it had completed its 22-month probe of the Central States Pension Fund and had turned up both loans to known criminals and loans that were made at below-market interest rates or on too little collateral to be considered sound. They are now preparing civil and criminal cases.

The day after the Labor department press conference, where they also announced the beginning of an investigation into Teamster health funds, trustees of the Central States Health and Welfare Fund convened a secret, emergency meeting to extend their contract with Allen Dorfman, a controversial Chicago businessman who handles insurance claims of fund participants, for another 10 years.

Dorfman, a longtime associate of top Teamster officials, was convicted in 1972 of accepting a kickback for arranging a loan from the Central States Pension Fund. Now the Labor department is looking into the Dorfman deal.

The Justice department and the FBI are also investigating allegations that the

Teamsters raised \$1 million as a payoff to the Nixon administration for preventing Jimmy Hoffa from running for union office until 1980, when his prison sentence would have ended.

## Professional Drivers Council.

The decisive impetus for internal reform has come, however, from self-conscious union militants who have slowly turned diffuse rank and file anger over leadership abuses into coherent, programmatic efforts to democratize the union at all levels.

The Professional Drivers Council, a Ralph Nader spinoff, was founded in 1971 as a Washington, D.C. lobbying and litigation operation. Initially concerned with the safety grievances of truckers, PROD moved on to explicitly oppose the dictatorship in the union and seek solutions to a range of problems through internal union pressure, legal suits, or congressional action.

PROD's legal accomplishments, along with their excellent research reports on union structures, have attracted wide mass media attention. With some 4,000 dues-paying members, they hope to gradually become an organization where rank and file representatives make policy decisions and determine the activities of the Washington staff.

PROD revealed this week that the Teamsters' General Executive Board has agreed to hold a hearing on its charges against Fitzsimmons. While "no one expects his co-conspirators to throw him out," in the words of one PROD staffer, Fitzsimmons will be required to defend himself in what amounts to a "disciplinary" procedure. PROD hopes to disqualify those board members who are mentioned in the charges.

## Teamsters for a Democratic Union.

Often cooperating with PROD is Teamsters for a Democratic Union, organized in preparation for the 1976 National Master Freight Agreement. TDU, which includes a core of young socialists who entered the trucking industry in the last decade, is credited with forcing a three-day nationwide strike last year, spearheading local campaigns to change union by-laws, and, unlike PROD, building an activist organization where

policy decisions are made at delegated conventions.

Since its founding convention in September 1976 TDU has laid an organizational foundation and built chapters across the country. They recently received a \$30,000 grant for their Legal Defense Fund to "provide the legal and educational backup for the rank and file movement." Though TDU will support other reform candidates, when its members run for office they are required to run as TDU candidates who are "dedicated to building rank and file power and supporting the TDU program."

"We don't care who gets the Lincoln Continental and the \$50,000 a year salary," says Ken Paff. "We're interested in bringing the salaries down to be more in line with unions members, in providing for election for all our officers from top to bottom, and in candidates who will speak out for these things and align themselves with the movement for change in the union."

## Limits to the possibilities.

Both organizations are realistic about the limits and pressures on union members who do win lower-level offices in

the absence of a strong rank and file movement. According to PROD, for instance, the international recently put out the word that the recent victors in Local 639 would "have trouble" getting their election certified by the area Joint Council unless PROD's John Catlett withdrew from the charges against Fitzsimmons.

Observers agree that significant change in the Teamsters will only come from pressure on a variety of fronts: a strong rank and file movement, reform officers on the local level, campaigns to decentralize the union's power structure, government sanctions against organized crime influence, and action in the courts.

A guest speaker at TDU's Cleveland convention will be Harry Patrick, current UMW secretary-treasurer who won on the MFD slate. His words best summarize a grass-roots approach to union reform: "... by and large, except for a very few, most labor leaders right now are more or less an arm of the industry. If we're going to change the face of the labor movement in this country, rank and file movements are the *only* way in the world to do it."

# Women's Caucus

Continued from page 4

Sandy Schwartz, a professional lobbyist for the Ohio Education Association and a member of the Congress of Labor Union Women (CLUW) said, "The conference was a high in many ways. I came here to see what I could do for the Caucus. I would like to bridge the gap between the parties. That's why I work particularly through the newly formed labor caucus." The Caucus hopes to recruit more union women and the labor caucus is the first step towards this goal, she said.

Millie Jeffrey, former coordinator of Consumer Affairs for the United Auto Workers was elected chair for the next two years by a wide margin over Sally Lunt, her only contender, a university professor from Massachusetts.

"I think this is a turning point," Jeffrey told *In These Times*. "There are now more issues that bond women together than divide women... I think the caucus will have a strong presence at the IWY conference because we have the political experience."

Schwartz also felt that the election of Jeffrey to chair would be another positive step in recruitment of more working class and union women to the caucus.

Although many of the major women political figures in the country were present at the conference, it failed to receive front page coverage in the major dailies. The Miss America Pageant, held the same weekend, generally claimed more press attention than the caucus.

While Miss America was being chosen in the East, Republican activist Jill Ruckelshaus was saying in the West: "We want the women of America to understand that we were raised in a society where we met the government and it was not us. Women have for too long been taught to play the woman's game where if you play you lose everything. Show me a saran-wrapped woman and I will show you a totaled woman. We will never, never, never give up."

With ERA still unrattified, an abortion fight in Congress and the expected battles at the IWY convention in November, the unified Caucus has a lot of work ahead. The 1978 and 1980 elections will be significant testing grounds to see if the new unity of moderate and left women will hold beyond the fight for ERA ratification and the IWY conference in Houston.

Claire Greensfelder works with *In These Times'* San Francisco bureau.

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# LIFE IN THE U.S.

## The Shaping of Technology—Part I

# Making science serve business

By David F. Noble

**D**uring the first few decades of the 20th century the processes of modern, science-informed technology were brought under control by private capital. During this time contemporary patterns of work, science and education were established as the routines of corporate America.

Control over science was an enormous undertaking. It entailed the invention, transformation and revitalization of social institutions; the preparation, habituation and mobilization of an entire society for wholly new forms of productive activity. It necessitated new forms of social life and individual identity; new patterns of work, leisure, consumption; new definitions of human potential, education, knowledge and the good—in short, the production of a new society itself.

In the vanguard of this new enterprise were the giant firms that dominated the science-based electrical and chemical industries: General Electric, Westinghouse, AT&T, DuPont. Rooted from the outset in the soil of science, unprecedented in their demand for scientific knowledge and knowledgeable people, these corporations sought to stimulate and regulate the growth of industrial science.

### Linking the lab and the workshop.

The decisive factor in the development of modern technology was the linking of science with the tradition-bound useful arts, the laboratory with the workshop, the search for truth about "Nature" with the utilitarian and pecuniary objectives of "manufactures."

In the past this link was made largely through the haphazard efforts of well-heeled gentlemen who cultivated an interest in both.

Firms in the mining, petroleum, electrical, steel and chemical industries had occasionally hired university-based consultants, but it wasn't until the 1890s that they undertook to establish scientific research laboratories as an organized activity within the firm itself.

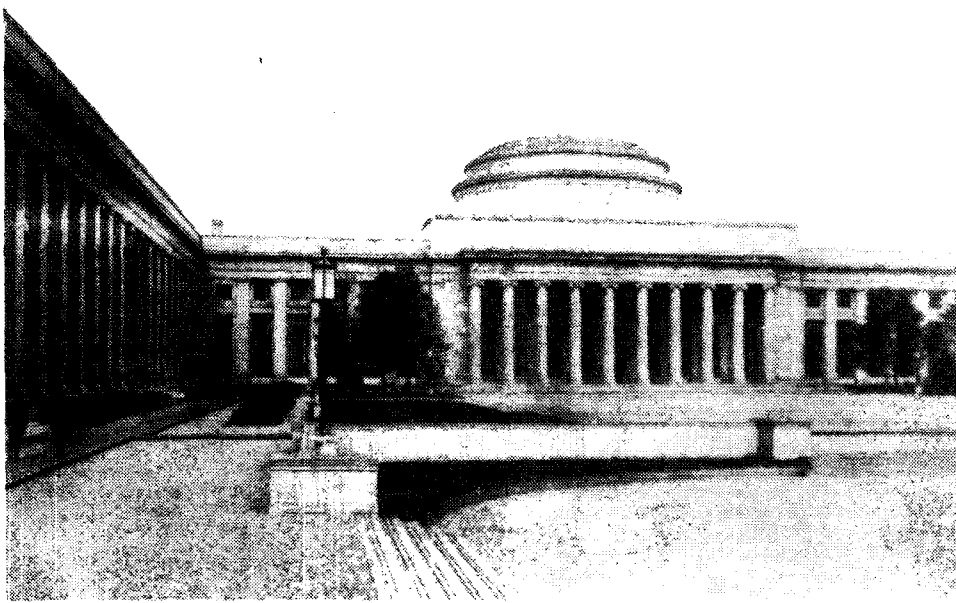
The pioneers were the large, well-endowed corporations such as G.E., AT&T and DuPont. It was in these that the first "synthetic geni" as Philip Alger of G.E. called them, were assembled—teams of specialists "held together by bonds of sympathy and understanding, as well as by the company management."

These laboratories quickly became enormous enterprises, employing hundreds of highly trained scientists, engineers and technicians and fostering, through careful supervision and a military organization of work, what Frank Jewett of the Bell Labs termed "cooperative effort under control."

The smaller science-based companies, however, couldn't afford to set up their own laboratories, or bear the risk of uncertain, long-term research. They relied upon independent research contractors, such as Arthur D. Little, to do their research work for them, and minimized an individual company's risk and cost by establishing cooperative trade association laboratories, such as the National Electric Light Association labs, which served the manufacturers of electric lamps. They also relied upon the service activities of new government agencies, particularly the National Bureau of Standards, which had been set up at the behest of industrial leaders and scientists in 1901.

### Bringing the university in.

Private contractors, trade association labs and government agencies, however, could neither meet the growing demand



By 1920 various schemes of industry-university cooperation had been developed, all of which tied the universities into the industrial arena and redefined the patterns of scientific study.

*T. Coleman du Pont (left) was one of the first financial benefactors of M.I.T. (above).*

for research nor satisfactorily link the world of science with that of industry. What was required was closer cooperation between the traditional domain of science, where the bulk of research activity was still being done, the universities, and the industries that aimed to put the results of that effort to profitable use.

By 1920 various schemes of industry-university cooperation had been developed, all of which tied the universities firmly into the industrial arena and redefined the patterns and ends of the scientific efforts of faculty, staff and students.

Industrial fellowships were created in support of graduate study in science and to allow faculty more time for research. (The most famous of these was the plan developed by Robert Kennedy Duncan of Kansas, which became the foundation for the Mellon Institute in Pittsburgh.)

Extensive cooperative research programs were undertaken at universities throughout the country, primarily in the engineering schools and at the departmental level.

The plant of the nation's colleges was expanded dramatically with the construction of new chemistry and physics and engineering buildings—at industrial expense.

Engineering experiment stations, like the agricultural stations created by the Hatch Act, were established, primarily at state schools, to provide extension services for local industries. But industry was not successful in its attempt to secure federal support for such stations.

Congress would not yet condone public subsidy for private enterprise.

Networks were established to facilitate the interchange of personnel and ideas between the schools and the industries: industrial advisory committees, industrial sabbaticals for professors, formal consulting arrangements, and the like.

Increasingly, through such cooperative institutional ties, industries "put out" their research tasks to universities, usually for a modest fee, and were thereby spared the overhead costs of facilities, staff, libraries and training of research personnel.

### The M.I.T. example.

The university as industrial service center was perhaps illustrated best and earliest by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. The physical chemistry laboratory set up in 1903 by A.A. Noyes and Willis Whitney (a founder of Cal Tech and first director of the G.E. labs, respectively) was, in M.I.T. President Henry Pritchett's words, "the first effort of any technical school in the country to offer research work distinctive from that of the colleges and directed toward engineering subjects." (Pritchett's endorsement was hardly surprising. Two years earlier he had founded the industrially oriented National Bureau of Standards.)

The next decade saw a tremendous growth in industrial research at M.I.T., primarily in the departments of chemical engineering (presided over by William Walker, former partner of Arthur Little

and electrical engineering (presided over by Dugald Jackson).

By 1920, these departmental efforts coalesced in the establishment of a centralized "Division of Industrial Cooperation," headed by Walker. The new division was created to administer what was known as the "Tech Plan," by which any industrial firm could contract with the Institute for specific research work.

By paying a fee for service, the firm received not only the particular work specified but also access to staff, faculty in related areas, library facilities, information on the work done in Institute laboratories that might be relevant, bibliographical services, and information, personal and academic, about all present and former M.I.T. students and faculty who might be able to contribute to the research effort or to the general work of the firm.

In the 1940s the highly successful Division of Industrial Cooperation became the Division of Sponsored Research, its responsibilities broadened to include military and governmental, as well as industrial sponsored research.

### National Research Council.

What the centralized division of industrial cooperation did for the fragmented efforts of departments at M.I.T., the National Research Council did for the research activities of the nation's universities as a whole. Set up during World War One, and funded primarily by such private agencies as the Industrial Engineering Foundation, the NRC assumed the task of coordinating the integration of universities within the industrial structure—promoting research in science while at the same time fostering efforts along industrially-defined lines.

The NRC provided invaluable assistance to burgeoning science-based industry, sponsoring research projects, conducting extensive surveys of research facilities in the government and the nation's colleges and universities, publishing bibliographies of research in progress, compiling personnel rosters of research institutes, university science and engineering faculty, graduate students, and recent Ph.D.'s, and even conducting tours for businessmen of major research facilities in industry and universities.

### Redefining the form and content.

Industrial sponsorship and direction of university research successfully shifted the major costs of science-based industry from the private to the public sector. But this was not all. Perhaps more important, it redefined the form and content of scientific research itself.

This involved more than the general shift away from natural philosophy, the search for metaphysical truth through an understanding of nature, to utilitarian science, the quest for intervention in, and power over nature. The shift toward utility assumed particular forms, measured by the specific needs of particular firms intent upon increasing their profit-margins and their power.

The industrial transformation of science affected not only what kinds of questions would be asked but also what particular questions would be asked, which problems would be investigated, what sorts of solutions would be sought, what conclusions would be drawn. Science had, indeed, been pressed into the service of capital.

*David F. Noble is Mellon Fellow in Humanities and Engineering at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and the author of **America By Design: Science, Technology and the Rise of Corporate Capitalism** (Knopf).*



## SPORTS

# No going back for Forest Hills

Players are now entertainers, not "ladies and gentlemen."

**By Mark Naison**  
This year's U.S. Open, the last played at the West Side Tennis Club, showed how far tennis has moved beyond the genteel setting in which it was once comfortably nestled.

Sellout crowds, round the clock television coverage, demonstrations against apartheid, and a near riot in the stands when Open officials tried to move an afternoon match involving Guillermo Vilas into the evening program—all these seemed out of place within the confines of a club whose members still sip gin and tonics on the clubhouse veranda and mimic the manners of the British aristocracy.

Next year, the tournament is going to be moved to a city-owned facility in Flushing Meadow park that can seat more people and is more suitable to the rough and tumble atmosphere of big-time sport.

The game has come a long way since the days when tournaments were played on grass and the players were all "amateurs." Tennis still has a special place in the hearts of the rich—the number of chauffeured limousines that pulled up to the stadium was mind-blowing—but it's also been enthusiastically adopted by the American middle class and infused with the spirit of show business.

Players are now entertainers, not "ladies and gentlemen," and they can curse, gesture to the crowd, intimidate linesmen and opponents without much fear of penalty. The audience is also more uninhibited, shouting encouragement to their favorites—"Go Billie Jean," "Get him, Guillermo"—as if they were at a basketball or football game.

But the action on the court is worthy of this excitement. Ever since the Open switched from grass to clay, matches have become much more fun to watch, turning into contests of endurance, dexterity and all round athletic ability as well as shotmaking.

Because the ball is harder to put away on clay than on grass, points last longer and audiences are often treated to breathtaking sequences in which one brilliant shot follows another in rapid succession before a point is finally won. At its best, a clay-court tennis match is a quintessential athletic spectacle in which two fine athletes extend one another to the peak of their physical and mental capacities for three hours or more.

The men's final—between Guillermo Vilas and Jimmy Connors—was just such an event, although there were plenty of other matches in both the men's and women's divisions that excited the capacity crowds.

## Women's Championship.

The women's title, as expected, was won by Chris Evert. But many of the other seeded players were beaten, a rarity in women's tennis. Two unseeded players, Australian Wendy Turnbull and 14 year old Californian Tracy Austin, pulled most of the upsets; the former beating Rosey Casals, Martina Navratilova, and Wimbledon Titleist Virginia Wade, and the latter beating Sue Barker.

The success of these two players bodes well for women's tennis. Turnbull is a fine athlete with a number of rough edges in her game, but she seems to have ironed out her weaknesses playing World Team Tennis and should emerge as a major factor on the women's tour. She gave Chris Evert her best match, losing the first set in a tie breaker before

succumbing to Evert's superior steadiness and strategic sense.

Tracy Austin, though celebrated by the media for her pixieish appearance, may be the best athlete to enter the ranks of women's tennis since Margaret Court. Although she weighs only 90 pounds, she is incredibly agile and is able to get every ounce of weight into her shots even when she seems to be off balance. Like Chris Evert, she seems to be in perfect position for every ball that she can reach, but she volleys much better than Evert did at her age and serves a little harder.

Once Austin gets more weight and strength, there may be no stopping her; one hopes that more women with her athletic ability will take up the game so that she doesn't totally dominate the circuit.

A few words should be said about Chris Evert, this year's champion. Because she has won some 110 matches in a row on clay, and because her court demeanor is so impassive, Evert has not captured the imagination of tennis audiences. She deserves better.

Some players run better, some are more flamboyant, but no one has better balance, body control or touch on their shots. Evert hits winners on shots that other players would barely return, but she does it so effortlessly that people don't realize the difficulty of what she's doing.

Against Billie Jean King, whom she beat 6-2, 6-0, she was hitting passing shot after passing shot on balls that landed a foot or two from the baseline. Some fans may call her "mechanical," but people who play the game seriously regard her as a superior athlete and a true court artist.

## Men's Championship.

In the men's division there were a few upsets in the early and middle rounds, but the main drama was the finals, where Guillermo Vilas was matched up against Jimmy Connors. With number one seed Bjorn Borg sidelined with an injury, both Vilas and Connors breezed through to the finals without the loss of a set; the former defeating Harold Solomon in his most difficult match, and the latter devastating Manuel Orantes, his conqueror of two years ago.

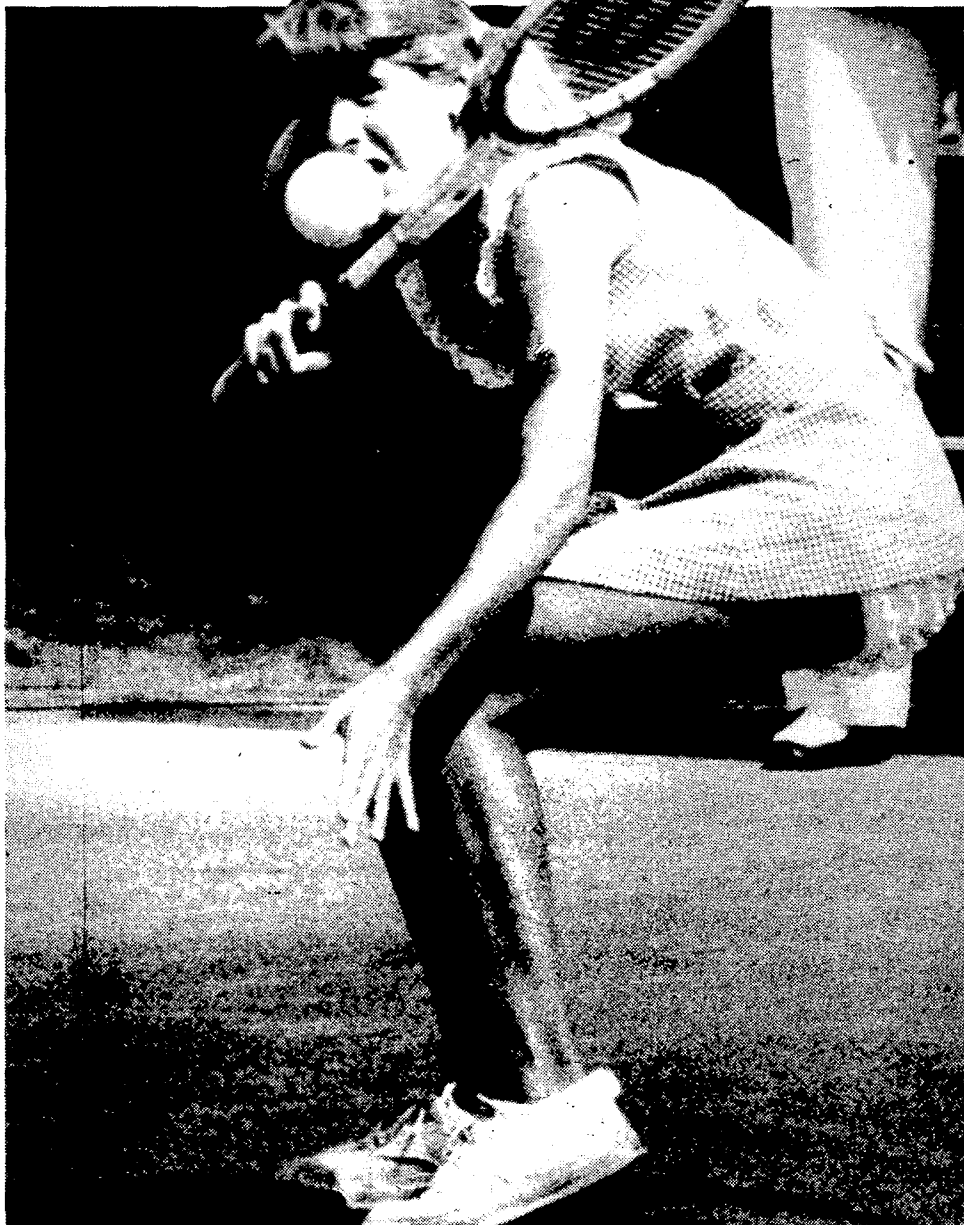
The stage was set for a remarkable match. Vilas had a streak of 39 matches on clay, including six straight tournaments, but he had yet to beat Borg or Connors in head to head competition. Connors had been hampered by back trouble since Wimbledon, but had played brilliantly throughout the Open, intimidating opponents with the power of his shots.

In the first set, it looked as though Connors would wipe the Argentinian off the court. He came out slugging from both the forehand and backhand side and Vilas—visibly nervous—seemed unable to cope with the speed of Connors' shots or the swirling mid-afternoon winds. Vilas mishit numerous balls off Connors' serve and approach shots and Connors appeared arrogant and invincible.

In the second set, however, Vilas began to recapture his timing. He stopped making unforced errors and began to vary his game more, charging net on short balls and interspersing slices with his normal topspin strokes. Connors, in turn, lost a bit of his sharpness and began hitting short forehands into the net. Vilas won the set 6-3.

In the third set, Connors seemed to recover the momentum and jumped out to a four to one lead. He was smashing his ground strokes from corner to corner and charging the net behind brilliant deep approach shots.

But all of a sudden, Vilas began hitting Connors' best shots by him for winners. Pushed off the court by Connors' drives, Vilas came up with a series of



There may be no stopping 14 year old Tracy Austin, who upset Sue Barker and won the attention of everyone.

UPI

topspin passing shots from both the forehand and backhand side that had the crowd gasping in amazement. Connors kept up the pressure, but the harder he hit, the better were Vilas' returns. The Argentinian pulled even at six all and won the set in a tie-breaker.

At this point in the match Connors seemed frustrated and exhausted. Vilas, a powerfully built man in superb physical condition, seemed to have a clear edge in stamina. But to Connors' credit, he refused to give in to fatigue and kept up the strategy that had taken him to the top of the tennis world, charging net on the short balls that Vilas gave him, hoping the Argentinian would lose his timing or his nerve.

But the player once ridiculed for his choking seemed to thrive on the pressure, and picked up his game to even higher levels. Shot after shot whizzed off Vilas' racket from impossible angles to land in corners of the court that Connors left uncovered. He did it on short balls, deep balls, balls hit to the side and down the middle, on drop shots and overheads. Although Connors played well, Vilas won the final set 6-0.

The crowd gave Vilas a standing ovation. Rarely had any of them seen a better tennis match or a more impressive athletic performance.

Mark Naison helps coordinate sports coverage for *In These Times*.

## Anti-apartheid demonstration draws comment from Ashe

Some 250 people turned out for the anti-apartheid demonstration called by the American Coordinating Committee for Equality in Sport and Society outside the Forest Hills Tennis Stadium on the day of the U.S. Open finals protesting South African participation.

Although the size of the crowd was smaller than the organizers had hoped for, the demonstration was spirited, well-organized and located in a spot where its chanting could be heard in every part of the stadium. The audience, the news media, and USTA officials were very aware that a demonstration was taking place, and some 10,000 leaflets were handed out describing the Tennis Association's defense of the right of South African teams and players to compete in the Davis Cup and professional tournaments.

One of the highlights of the demonstration came when black tennis star Arthur Ashe came out to address the demonstrators. In the past Ashe had argued that banning South Africa

from international competition would hinder the struggle against apartheid, but on this occasion he shifted his position slightly, arguing that individual South Africans should be allowed to play in the Open, but that South African teams should "perhaps" be barred from the Davis Cup.

Since Ashe is a member of the USTA Executive Board his remarks may reflect a potential change in the Association's position as the pressure on them mounts.

Next year, the Open will be played in a city-owned facility, and the Association may also find it difficult to sell their current position to city officials concerned about the feelings of their black and Puerto Rican constituents.

In any case ACCESS plans to organize further demonstrations in New York and other cities to keep the issue before the public eye, and to broaden the constituency for action against apartheid.

—M.N.



## ART &amp; ENTERTAINMENT

## BOOKS

## Living revolution



## TAKING CHARGE

By The Simple Living Collective (American Friends Service Committee)  
Bantam, 1977, paper \$1.95

## RESOURCE MANUAL FOR A LIVING REVOLUTION

By Virginia Coover, Ellen Deacon, Charles Esser, Christopher Moore  
New Society Press, 1977, paper \$5

Here are two new paperback guides to personal and political change. The first is a collective of essays by people who have participated in experiments in what the authors call "simple living." By this they mean "regaining control of the materially connected aspects of our lives" (e.g. the chapter on "Consuming Ourselves"), rejecting the role of "unwitting co-conspirators in the economic oppression of other human beings and the political oppression that usually accompanies it," (e.g. "The Energy Addict's Calorie Counter") and "actively engaging in work designed to bring about a fundamental redistribution of political and economic power in this nation and in the world."

While there is discussion of politics and economics and

some examples of significant efforts at change, the thrust of the book is to persuade the reader that "how you live can make a difference"—which is to say that one is not as powerless as one feels in "the overdeveloped sector of a maldeveloped world."

There are numerous bibliographies included in *Taking Charge*, each directed at stimulating discussion of a particular problem, and there are constant references to a "forthcoming" *Resource Manual for a Living Revolution*, which has now come forth.

This is the result of long, intense effort—not yet terminated—by four leading members of the Movement for a New Society, centered in Philadelphia. It is larger, more expensive, and much more detailed than *Taking Charge*, and the two work well together.

The *Manual* is predicated on the need for "specific skills that can facilitate the transition to a new society." It is, as its authors put it, "a collection of tools"—everything from ways of structuring a "non-structured" meeting to conflict resolution; from consciousness raising to direct action campaigns. (MNS-trained people are pivotal in such efforts as the Clam-

shell Alliance.)

There are valuable guidelines on "Developing Communities of Support" (i.e. group-living for political activists) and on "Personal Growth" and ways of evaluating it. There is a valuable catch-all chapter called "Practical Skills," in which the reader can find instructions on how to cook for (and clean up from) large groups, or how to write a press release, or how to make signs for a demonstration, or how to keep track of information within a protracted group effort, or what to read before being arrested and going to jail.

There is a list, indexed by states, of groups and individuals to contact for further information and/or support. It is not long, and the farther the distance from Philadelphia, the thinner the coverage. Possibly the existence and use of the *Manual* will change that, for one of the obstacles to change of the kind the Movement for a New Society advocates is the lack of communication between like-thinking individuals and groups in the U.S.

—J.S.

Available from Movement for a New Society, 4722 Baltimore Ave., Philadelphia, PA 19143.

## Epic without a hero

## THE BRIDGE ON THE DRINA

By Ivo Andric  
Translated from the Serbo-Croat by Lovett Edwards  
University of Chicago, 1977, paper, \$4.95

The occasion of a new paperback edition of Ivo Andric's epic Yugoslav novel (first published in 1945) is a chance to comment upon one of the most curious writers of the century, a Nobel Prize winner almost unknown in the U.S.

The Nobel citation for Andric's 1961 award stresses "the epic force with which he has depicted themes and human destinies." Although Andric has written novellas, poems and books of tales, it seems clear that he was chosen for the literature prize largely on the strength of *The Bridge on the Drina*, since none of his other work approaches its ambitious scope.

The novel covers 500 years of Balkan history—from the Ottoman conquest in the 15th century to World War I (which began as a Balkan war when a Serbian bullet pierced the Austrian archduke's chest)—by chronicling the history of a stately bridge over the River Drina between Bosnia and Serbia. Built by the Turks in the 16th century, occupied by the Austrians in the 19th, crossed and recrossed by Serbian nationalists on their missions of liberation, the bridge is a shifting symbol of unity and division among the South Slavic peoples (the Yug of Yugoslavia means "south") who live to either side of it.

Andric himself was born under Hapsburg rule in Bosnia, west of the Drina. He became a Serbian nationalist and was jailed by the Austrians in 1914. Between world wars he served as a diplomat for the short-lived Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, and his *Bridge*, written in Nazi-occupied Belgrade in the early 1940s, is a plea for continued Serbian hegemony over the Croats and Muslims. (The South Slavic shell game of religions, cultures and regimes has not yet ended, as is evidenced by recent Serbian rumblings for self-determination.)

Reading *The Bridge on the Drina* is like studying a drop of pond water. Myriad life forms proliferate, degenerate, die out. Exotic characters, pinched like protozoa under the glass of history, offer no more possibilities of tragedy or comedy than a self-dividing amoeba. Many of them seem like puppets by Ghetto, carefully carved into eccentric smiles and scowls, manipulated into tics and limps.

Imagine *War and Peace* beginning with Mikhail Romanov instead of Count Rostov; or *The Grapes of Wrath* beginning with the landing of the Pilgrims. The best novelistic history I know is Garrett Mattingly's *The Armada*, but the scope of that was limited to the generations surrounding the event. Andric steamrolls through five centuries of biological time. The violence of each succeeding empire is distant and inevitable. Personal love is dwarfed into insignificance. Characters emerge

so briefly that they serve merely as representatives of one culture or another; their individuality is flattened under the weight of too many generations.

But here, at any rate, is solid refutation to Norman Mailer's claim to have invented "the novel as history, or history as the novel." Andric beat him to it by 20 years. Whatever its shortcomings as fiction, *The Bridge* is absorbing and accurate as history of an extraordinarily complex group of people. Perhaps the choice of a stone bridge as a unifying device was determined by the instability of the political and cultural entities that exist together in the rugged Balkan peninsula.

When the Nazis broke up the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Andric turned to Tito as unifier of Slavs. Although the Nobel Committee may have sensed in the Serbian nationalism of his great work a potential protest against the new socialist regime, Andric never expressed such feelings. He returned to the writing of histories, tales and novellas. His small people, having awakened to yet another configuration of power, blink and limp their way more often than not into a past where folk tales are blessed by the magical polyglot and mystery of this crossroads country.

Andric died in Belgrade in 1975. His *The Bridge on the Drina* remains a curiosity in world literature: an epic without a single human hero.

—Jeffrey Gillenkirk  
Jeffrey Gillenkirk reviews regularly for *In These Times*.

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# Records

## Punk has become a symbol of musical resistance.

**LUST FOR LIFE**  
By Iggy Pop  
RCA

If all the new punk music has as much bold style as Iggy, then the "new wave" (terrible, trendy term) will soon sweep out the mold formed by years of soft Middle-of-the-Road and dulling disco. *Lust for Life* has a hard beat, manic humor and continued shrewd collaboration between Iggy (who writes and sings) and David Bowie (who creates and produces the music).

The title song allows Iggy to expand his dark modernist street philosophy:

*well, I'm just a modern guy  
of course I've had it in the  
ear before*

and this remains a primer for the understanding of a body of music that is slowly filtering into the musical consciousness of listeners and artists.

Punk has become a symbol of musical resistance, reduced at times to groups playing basic chord arrangements accompanied by scathing anti-establishment posturing. What is really being attacked, however, is the existing music business, the perfect example of a corporate state. The attack, if it remains serious, may become a sham, because if Punk succeeds, the industry will assimilate it and the new blood will be coagulated by transfusions of money and time. But as long as

the rebellious attitudes of the Sex Pistols, The Damned, The Clash etc. continue, rock music will be the better for it.

Iggy, Crown Prince of the movement, has not lost his ability to stay fresh in a business that preaches and demands conformity as a means to continued sales and profits. Iggy is aware of this drive towards conformism and his mocking "Success" criticizes his own potential stardom.

His love songs are bizarre, flogging the idea of teen-age romance as spectacle,

*I saw my baby,  
she was turning blue,  
I knew that soon her  
young life was through.*

Iggy's separation from the mainstream is a defense, erected in order to maintain some sort of mental equilibrium.

*I never got my license to live;  
they won't give it up,  
so I stand at the world's edge.  
I'm trying to break in*

The mystique of raw power, nurtured by the gutter, remains intact. *Lust for Life* is a refreshing alternative to the captive sounds that dominate the pop industry today.

—Joe Heumann

Joe Heumann reviews regularly for *In These Times*.

**ALREADY FREE**  
By Nick Jameson  
Bearsville Records

This is Nick Jameson's debut album, but he has been around a long time as a producer and engineer for Paul Butterfield, Foghat, Bonnie Raitt, Sparks, Orleans and others. It's a puzzle why he waited so long because *Already Free* is a successful and assured individual interpretation of pop music. I stress the individual since Jameson is responsible for the production, engineering, singing, musicianship (except for drumming and harmonica) and lyrics.

Such lone wolf efforts have usually failed (Paul McCartney's *Ram* for example) due to inconsistency of vision, talent or technique behind or in front of the microphones. Jameson, however, is a production wizard who can create a total integrated sound, accompanied by a harmonious lyric sensibility that makes for great late night music. He also has the ability to draw on musical signatures as distinctive as Steely Dans and Leon Russell.

Jameson has succeeded in wearing all the creative hats without losing touch with his head.

—H.H.

Nick Jameson, lone wolf



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**MEXICO IN TRANSITION** by Philip Russell, with photos and illustrations by Rius. Covers history, politics, economy, workers, peasants, women, Indians, media, etc. \$5.95 from Colorado River Press, Box 8004, Dept. I, Austin, Texas 78712.

**CONFERENCE ON THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF HIGHER EDUCATION** (Nov. 11-12 at N.Y.U.)—Keynote speaker Samuel Bowles, U. Mass. Fri., 8 pm, Schimmel Aud., Tisch Bldg., 40 W. 4th St.—Panels and Workshops on the theory, history and politics of higher education with Bowles, Ira Shor (CUNY), David Barkin (Smith Col.), Joel Spring (U. Cincinnati), Sherry Gorelick (CUNY), Michael Brown (CUNY), Mary Feldbloom (District 65), Lee Johnson (Coalition of Black Trade Unions), and others (Fri., 3-6 pm; Sat. 9:30-12 am, and 2-6 pm. For further info, write Center for Marxist Studies, N.Y.U., Wash. Square NY, NY 10003.

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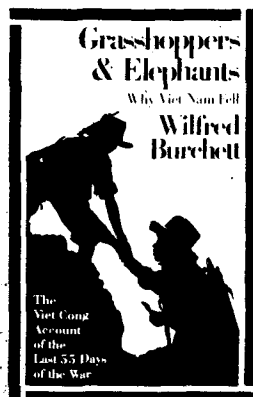
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## MUSIC

## A fine first fifteen years

SO EARLY IN THE SPRING

By Judy Collins  
Elektra/Asylum, 1977

Elektra has issued a beautiful retrospective album of Judy Collins' first fifteen years. *So Early in the Spring* is worth what it costs, but none of her fans is likely to be completely satisfied with the selection of 24 songs from 14 previous albums (six of which have won the RIAA Gold Record award). Not because these aren't good examples of the different genres in the Collins' repertory, but because opinions will differ on whether or not something better has been passed over.

The four sides of *So Early* are arranged by "category": traditional on Side #1; political on Side #2; contemporary songs by other composers (including Joni Mitchell, Jacques Brel, Stephen Sondheim and Leonard Cohen) on Side #3; and on the last a half-dozen songs with words and music by Collins.

There is a roughly approximate chronology—i.e. the first side has more songs from her early albums because in those years Collins was known as a "folk singer." But the stand-out cut in this category ("Farewell to Tarwathie") is taken from *Whales and Nightingales*, which was released in 1970. This is, incidentally, a traditional song, adapted by Collins, and backed by an eerie recording of the voices of humpback whales.

The songs on the second side are mostly from the '60s, during which time Collins was active in the peace and the civil rights movements and appeared frequently as a singer at rallies for political candidates whom she supported. The third side has cuts chosen from albums issued as early as 1968 and as late as 1975. The final side is almost entirely from the '70s because it is only lately that Collins has been writing for and about herself.

Perhaps it's too soon to pass critical judgement on her talent as a composer. Collins is a woman of extraordinary versatility, with a better musical education than most performers, and it may be that she will get better at writing lyrics and composing music if she sticks with it. But as of this album, (with one stunning exception, "Born to the Breed") the by-line "Words and Music by Judy Collins" is not equivalent to four stars.

The music sounds uncertainly derivative, as if other composer's melodic lines were welling up in the performer's memory. And the autobiographical verse is pretty much like the autobiographical verse of Joni Mitchell and Joan Baez et al. (Why is it that most of the singer-songwriters in the country are suddenly so involved with the contemplation of their own personal pasts?)

The stunning exception is a song about Collins' son Clark, who had just turned 16 in 1975, when "Born to the Breed" was written. He has left home because

*Comes the time in a boy's life  
When he's got to be a man.  
Please don't try to find me.  
Please try to understand.*

What's good about this song is that it has what's missing



from most of the other self-chronicling ones: the intensely felt emotion of a particular moment in a particular woman's life that can be shared by an infinite variety of other people—parents of both sexes as well as children—because the anguish of "passages" is universal. And this musical-poetic expression of that anguish transcends the particular as the mother pictures the boy on the road "Rain comin' down; trucks rollin' by" and wonders "Is that old poncho gonna keep you dry?"

As an autobiographer, Collins is more successful in prose than she has been, so far, in song. The cover notes on *So Early in the Spring* consist of three vignettes of memory: one of a childhood ride in the back seat of an old Buick, driven by her mother, on tour with her blind father who was a "singing, piano playing, poetry reading, thigh slapping, bellychuckling entertainer"; one of the moment in the first year of motherhood when she faced the possibility of singing for money—with a flashback that explains her relation and musical debt to Antonia Brico; and finally a glimpse of the glamorous side of being an international star. For more details and better continuity, there is *The Judy Collins Song Book*, which contains a good deal of reminiscence about her life and career along with the music to

many of her best known songs.

One of the less recognized but important musical contributions made by Collins is the part she has played in introducing new artists to a wide audience: Joni Mitchell and Leonard Cohen at the start of their careers; and Jacques Brel before he was widely known in this country. Side Three has her by now classic renditions of Mitchell's "Both Sides Now" and Cohen's "Bird on the Wire", and a Brel song (in a combination of French and Dutch), "Marieke." But the superlative Brel in the collection is "La Colombe" (in English), included among the protest songs on Side Two.

Side Two I have saved for the last because it is—in my opinion—the best. "The Hostage," by Tom Paxton, is a corrosively angry ballad about Attica, sung with passion and style. "La Colombe" is the most effective anti-war lyric I can remember. Written from the point of view of a young conscripted soldier, saying good-bye to his love, it repeats the refrain:

*The dove has torn her wings,  
so no more songs of love.  
We are not here to sing;  
we're here to kill the dove.*

Judy Collins sings it as well as it can be sung, and that's high praise.

Also on Side Two are a miner's song, "Coal Tattoo" and the familiar "Carry It On," so often chanted at civil rights

demonstrations and rallies, and a new setting (by Mimi Farina) of the pioneer woman's movement anthem, "Bread and Roses." The last cut on this side is the most dramatic and difficult piece of all—"Homage to Marat" from *Marat/Sade*. It really lies outside Collins' range, but she manages somehow to transcend her own limits, or to compensate for them so successfully that one accepts this version as if it were the only one.

Other listeners may have other favorites and other objections. But from this collection it becomes evident that Judy Collins is a fixed star in the musical firmament—as much a part of the American popular sector as Arthur Fiedler, with whom she has been appearing recently on televised Pops concerts. She is also a performer on PBS's Sound Stage, as star and hostess to such other stars as Leonard Cohen.

And music—which she has looked at "from both sides now"—is not the end of Collins' reach. She has also demonstrated her ability as a filmmaker. With no experience in the form, but with the advantage of a long personal and professional relationship with the subject, Collins co-directed the documentary *Antonia: A Portrait of the Woman*, which won a number of prestigious awards in the year of its release (1974),

Music—which she has looked at "from both sides now"—is not the end of her reach

has played successful commercial engagements all over the U.S. and is still being booked.

This venture began as an assignment to do an article on conductor Antonia Brico for *Ms* magazine. Collins was chosen, presumably, because she had studied with Brico in her formative years. (The cover notes to *So Early in the Spring* record the difficulty with which Collins pulled away from the career line her teacher had planned her for—that of a concert pianist.) What comes across in the film is a powerful statement of the tragedy of personal frustration and wasted genius—the story of a woman whose "instrument was the orchestra" and who was denied access to it by the musical mandarins. The whole *persona* of Antonia Brico is projected in conversations, clippings and programs, action scenes of rehearsal and performances. Technically pretty rough, the film is nevertheless so sensitive and so rich that it will be moving and mind-blowing as long as there is such a thing as discrimination on the basis of sex.

All in all, listening to Judy Collins' *So Early in the Spring* gives more than present pleasure. It puts the past in meaningful musical perspective and makes one look forward eagerly to what will blossom later in her summer.

—Janet Stevenson



# Art 14 Football 7



Merce Cunningham

By Bill Sievert  
Pacific News Service

The hot dogs and beer may be missing, but museums are outdrawing major league baseball in eight cities from Atlanta to Seattle. Opera is luring more fans than the National Football League in Houston and New York City. And symphonies are attracting larger crowds than pro football in 10 cities, including NFL strongholds Pittsburgh and Dallas.

As such crowd comparisons—compiled last season by the Media/Arts Institute in Washington, D.C.—indicate, the fine arts are experiencing an unprecedented explosion in popularity in the U.S. Supporters of the arts call the current boom a “cultural renaissance”—the beginning of a new era in which Americans will seek satisfaction more from human resources than from dwindling physical resources.

“There is a sense that only so much satisfaction can be gained from an accumulation of material objects,” explains Michael Newton, president of the American Council for the Arts in New York City. “I think the energy crisis has lent weight to this sense of the finiteness of physical resources. People are tending

to invest more of themselves and take more pride in human resources.”

“Americans want something more from life,” agrees Jill Steiner, formerly public relations director for the Oakland Museum and now a program analyst specializing in the arts for the Mary C. Skaggs Foundation of Oakland, Ca. “They’ve seen an increase in their leisure time and their income. They’ve got a job and union protection, and their educational level is going up. But they have little in the way of a heritage.”

“To an Italian,” Steiner notes, “opera is like rock ‘n’ roll is to us. To the French, great painters are like billboards are to us. I see the growth of the arts in the U.S. as a desire to create a heritage for ourselves.”

## Small towns as well as large.

The boom is resounding in smaller towns as well as larger cities and includes spectators and performers alike. According to figures issued earlier this summer by the National Endowment for the Arts, the number of professional orchestras has nearly doubled from 58 to 110 in the last decade. The number of professional opera companies has increased from 27 to 45; professional and developmental theaters from 22 to a startling 145.

And the number of professional touring dance companies has more than tripled from 27 to 82. Including local and resident troupes, dance has seen the greatest rise of any performing art form with more than 350 companies now in existence nationwide.

There are no firm statistics on amateur performances, but the consensus among observers of the arts is that they also are skyrocketing in number and in quality.

“It’s very much like an ocean,” says John Gingrich, president of the American Association of Dance Companies in New York. “We know there are new companies forming all the time, and the turnout for audition calls is often staggering, but we can’t keep count of every wave. We do know that dance is growing both as recreation and vocation and that there’s been a tremendous push in the South, West and Midwest.”

## Television is responsible.

Ironically, the one factor most responsible for the arts boom appears to be television. Although the small screen has been blamed for every social ill from street violence to poor reading skills among America’s youth, it also is being credited with bringing fine arts performances to a large segment of the popula-

tion that otherwise might never experience them.

“Earlier generations simply were not exposed to arts, except some generally mediocre local performances,” says Gingrich. “TV has had the impact of creating a celebrity and star system. When someone like Rudolph Nureyev comes to town, it’s an event. After people see Nureyev, they tend to try out other ballet and dance performances when there are no superstars in town.”

Gingrich points to an audience survey conducted for the renowned Joffrey Ballet following its performances on the “Dance in America” series for public television two seasons ago. The survey found that a majority of persons attending the company’s live performances were first-timers who originally had seen the Joffrey dancers on television.

“My belief is that television is in large part responsible for the enormous explosion we’re seeing in the arts because it has helped demystify the arts,” Steiner says. “It’s made people realize you don’t have to be part of the mink-coat set to appreciate and enjoy the opera or ballet.”

When the New York Metropolitan Opera Co. presented “La Boheme” on public television last season, she notes, “more people were watching than had seen the play in its entire history.”

## Public support.

As public interest in the arts has grown, so has government financing and support. This year the National League of Cities and the U.S. Conference of Mayors both created task forces on the arts for the first time. And funding for the arts on the state level has risen dramatically “across the board,” according to Arts Council President Newton.

Federally, arts administrators and supporters are pushing the Carter administration for a record \$220 million appropriation for the next fiscal year. They expect to receive at least \$180 million, compared to \$120 million this year and a paltry \$11 million a decade ago.

In demanding more public financing for their programs, arts administrators point particularly to the success of relatively new performing companies in smaller cities where traditionally there has been little public support: the sell-out crowds for the Santa Fe, N.M. opera; the San Jose, Ca. symphony; and the Salt Lake City, Utah, dance ensemble, to name a few.

Many of the new supporters of the arts are young adults who have turned in their rock ‘n’ roll shoes for ballet slippers, or at least center-stage seats at the opera. But credit for the explosion does not belong to youth alone, arts observers point out. Americans of all ages are making various art forms a higher priority in their lives.

The American Council for the Arts recently surveyed a demographically balanced sampling of the American population about the value of the arts in today’s society. An overwhelming 86 percent of those surveyed agreed that the arts are “as important to a community as libraries, schools, parks and recreational activities.”

Most young people, Jill Steiner admits, would “still rather go to a rock concert than the ballet, but a lot of them are realizing there’s room for both in their lives. And more people of all ages are taking a chance. They’re experiencing the fine arts first hand and then coming back for more.”

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